

# Music & Letters

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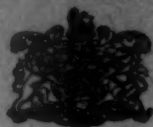
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July 1939

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# *Music and Letters*

JULY 1939

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Volume XX

No. 3

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## SOME NEW BEETHOVEN LETTERS

BY B. SCHOFIELD AND A. D. WILSON

BELOW is printed for the first time the original German text of four holograph letters of Ludwig van Beethoven from the collection of the late Ernst Perabo, of Boston, U.S.A., which was presented to the British Museum by his friend and pupil, E. Perry Warren, in 1928. An English translation, with commentary, was published in 'The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post' of February 18th, March 4th and March 25th 1939, and the reader is referred to those articles for further details of the circumstances in which the letters were written. The present object is to allow these letters to appear in print exactly as Beethoven wrote them.

The earliest, written in the summer of 1814, is addressed to the poet Friedrich Treitschke, who had just revised the libretto of the opera 'Fidelio'; the other three, to the Berlin music publisher Adolf Martin Schlesinger, are chiefly concerned with offers of his Mass in D and with corrections to the pianoforte Sonatas (Opp. 109-111). Further letters on these subjects are to be found in Kalischer's edition of Beethoven letters and also, together with replies from Schlesinger, in Dr. Max Unger's 'Beethoven und seine Verleger' (1921).

Appended is the German text, hitherto unpublished, of a torn half-sheet in Beethoven's hand, without date or address, from the papers of F. G. Edwards (editor of 'The Musical Times' 1897-1909), which were bought by the British Museum in 1933.

In the transcription, apart from the insertion of capitals and punctuation at necessary points, Beethoven's text has been strictly

followed : extensions of abbreviated words have been placed in square brackets.

## I

Lieber T.<sup>(1)</sup>

Hier ist das Geheimniß, wie die oper *Fidelio* nach Mainz gekommen aufgedeckt.—wahrscheinlich durch den Hof-theater-Verlag<sup>(2)</sup>. Denn gestern erfahre ich von dem Herrn, dessen Adresse hier beygefügt ist, dass er selbst diese oper *Fidelio* für 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  im *hiesigen Hoftheater-Verlag gekauft habe*. Der Hr : Graf wohnt in der österreichischen Kaiserin<sup>(3)</sup>, geht aber vielleicht schon übermorgen fort von hier—Ich erwarte Ihre Maassregeln gegen diese schlechte Menschen ; soll ich Gr : Palfy<sup>(4)</sup> zu wissen machen, oder was ist sonst zu thun ?—

Ihr Verhrer [*sic*] und Freund  
Beethoven.

Address : An seine wohlgebohrn Herrn von Treischke [*sic*].

## II

Wien, den 13ten Novemb.

Euer Wohlgebohrn !<sup>(5)</sup>

Aus Ihrem Schreiben vom 13ten Oktob. sahe ich, dass Sie schon die Sonate abgeschickt haben, und den Nachtrag von Fehlern, den ich damals vergessen hatte mitzuschicken, nicht erhalten haben, ich bitte Sie deshalb selbe Fehler doch nemlich :

<sup>(1)</sup> This letter is undated, but it was doubtless written in the summer of 1814 (see references to the unauthorized copies of '*Fidelio*' in Kalischer, '*Beethoven's Sämtliche Briefe*', ii, 194 ; J. S. Shedlock, '*Beethoven's Letters*', i, pp. 320, 331 ; cf. Thayer, '*Life of L. van Beethoven*', ed. Krehbiel, ii, pp. 281 sqq.). The opera '*Fidelio*', in the revised form, received its first performance at the Kärnthnerthor Theatre, Vienna, May 23rd 1814.

<sup>(2)</sup> A little-known Viennese publishing firm, probably connected with the Imperial Theatre, which issued the pianoforte arrangement of Beethoven's '*Germania's Wiedergeburt*' in June 1814 (Nottebohm, '*Ludwig van Beethoven : Thematisches Verzeichnis*', 1913, p. 160).

<sup>(3)</sup> A Viennese hotel.

<sup>(4)</sup> Count Ferdinand Palfy, one of the directors of the Imperial Theatres. He produced '*Fidelio*' for the delegates at the Congress of Vienna (Thayer, *op. cit.*, ii, 293).

<sup>(5)</sup> Only the third letter to Schlesinger bears an address. Apart from internal evidence, the endorsement on the second letter (probably received simultaneously with the first) is written by the same hand as the endorsement on the third ; thus it may be taken as proved that the letters were all sent to the same address.

The endorsements run as follows :

(a) (on the second letter).

"Wien, den 13ten November 1821

L. v. Beethoven

beantw. d. 1 Dezemb. 21 "

(b) (on the third letter).

"Wien den 9 April 1822

L. v. Beethoven

beantw. d. 2 July 1822 "



wo es sich wirklich findet, dass es nicht *so* im Stiche ist, in den Platen korrigiren zu lassen u. einen Nachtrag hierher gedruckt zu senden, vielleicht könnte ich auch bey Steiner nachsehn, dass die Fehler hier, ehe diese Exemplare ausgegeben würden, corrigirt würden—mein beständiges Krankseyn ist schuld daran, dass mir auf eine gewisse Weise alles mühsamer geworden, so ergieng es denn auch mit der Korrektur; als ich sie machte, war ich mit der Gelbsucht befallen, und befand mich sehr übel, strengte mich unterdessen möglichst an, um Ihnen zu helfen, hiebey geschah, dass ich noch gefundene Feler in einem Nachtrage vergessen habe, abzuschicken—Mein Rath ist, u. ich bitte Sie ihn genau zu befolgen, dass Sie diesen Nachtrag (von Fehlern) noch an *alle* Örter (wo Sie Exemplare versandt) *hinschicken* u. *zwar schnell mit dem Auftrage die Exemplare hienoch mit Tusch zu korrigiren EHE SELBE AUSGEGEBEN WERDEN, auf diese Weise ist die Sache am leichtesten abgethan.* Ich bitte bitte bitte ja diesen Rath zu befolgen, damit das Werk in seiner wahren Gestalt erscheine; was die andern 2 Sonaten anbetrifft, so werden selbe bald folgen, u. zwar korrekt abgeschrieben, mit dem Manuskript mitschicken, dies ist zu gefährlich, denn wenn ein Zufall (ii) widriger (i) [*sic*] Manuskript u. Abschrift träfe, so wäre das ganze Werk verlohren, das Vorigemal geschah es, indem ich, meiner kränklichen Umstände wegen, mein *Concept weitläufiger* aufgeschrieben als gewöhnlich, jetzt aber wo wie es scheint meine Gesundheit besser ist, zeige ich wie sonst auch nur gewisse Ideen an, u. bin ich mit dem Ganzen fertig im Kopf [?], so wird alles aber nur einmal aufgeschrieben—bey dieser Gelegenheit schreibe ich Ihnen *von der Messe*, weswegen Sie sich angefragt, sie ist ein meiner grössten Werke, und wenn Sie selbe haben wollten, so könnte es wohl geschehen, dass ich sie Ihnen überliess; das Honorar ist dafür 100 Louisdor (jedoch nicht Friedrichsdor noch Pistolen) d.h. den Louisdor zu zwei Dukaten in Gold gerechnet oder eigentlich 200 Dukaten in Gold\*—weniger kann ich nicht nehmen, denn diese Summe ist mir auch schon von andern angetragen, u. ich gebe Ihnen bloss den Vorzug, ich muss Sie aber *dringend bitten mir sogleich darüber Antwort zu geben*, denn die Sache lässt sich nicht mehr verschieben, Sie haben gütigst *ja* oder *nein* zu schreiben, aber *ja gleich nach dem Empfange dieses Briefes*, übrigens bitte ich Sie diesen *Antrag geheim zu halten*—was die Anweisung an Hr. Tendler u. Compagnie<sup>(\*)</sup> anbelangt, so bitte ich mir nur

(\*) Tendler and Manstein, a firm of bankers.

sogleich anzuzeigen, sobald Sie selbe haben an diese Herrn ergehen lassen. Es wird mir leichter so die beyden Sonaten nach Berlin zu befördern, denn alles Geschäftsmässige ist mir eine Last bey meiner steten Kunstbeschäftigung—die jezige Antwort bitte ich Sie mir gerade auf die Brief Post zu geben, damit ich solche ja gleich erhalte. Es braucht gar keiner andern Adresse, als : an Ludwig Van Beethoven.

in Eil. Ihr mit Achtung

ergebenster [sic] Beethoven.

Vergessen ja [nicht?] auch die Anordnung wegen den nachzutragenden Fehlern.

\* (oder 900 fl. mit agio in 20-ger Fuss Wiener Geld).

### III

Wien den 14ten Novemb. 1821.

- 1 tes Stück. 11 ter Takt.<sup>(1)</sup> fehlt die Bindung  
 — 13 — — — eine ¶ Pause im Diskant.  
 — 42ter ü. 43ter — müssen beide widerholt werden nemlich :  
 Prestissimo 19ter Takt, fehlt die Bindung zwischen F u. F.  
 zwischen der ersten u. zweiten Linie.  
 — 37— Takt muss die Bindung — zwischen C u. C.  
 zwischen der 3ten u. 4ten Linie weg-  
 kömen ü. muss heissen, wie hier  
 — 136 ü. 137ter Takt muss die Bindung — zwischen F ü.  
 F. auf der 5ten Linie u. zwischen  
 G ü. G. ober der 5ten Linie, weg-  
 kommen, u. muss wie hier seyn.  
 leztes Stück im 10ten Takt Var:i. fehlt das H zum F ü. D ü.  
 muss hiezu gesetzt werden  
 — — — 29ter Takt Var:2 h\$ vor [F].  
 — — — 33ter Takt muss die [sic] zwischen die lezte  
 Note H u. die erste Note H der  
 4ten Variation eine — Bindung  
 gemacht werden so :  
 in der 4ten Var : 6ter Takt muss im Bass D statt H stehn. So :  
 — — — 9ter — \$<sup>(2)</sup> vor G im Bass  
 — — — 10ter — \$ vor D  
 — — — 12ter — h vor A

<sup>(1)</sup> In his numeration of bars Beethoven usually counts only the second ending. The musical extracts given by him, with the exception of the last four, will be seen in the facsimile reproduction.


<sup>(2)</sup> Beethoven's numeration in this case counts the first ending; in his illustration to this correction he gives B as the first note of the bass in this bar, where the Breitkopf & Härtel edition has G\$.







Second leaf of Beethoven's letter of November 14th 1821. (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 41628.)



Var. 5. 20ter Takt<sup>(\*)</sup>  $\sharp$  vor F 

— 6. 26— —  $\sharp$  vor D linke Hand 

— — 45— —  $\sharp$  vor E 

— — 29— —  $\sharp$  vor F 

Gestern erhielt ich erst die mir 4 zugesagten Exemplare, worin zwar viele Fehler, die ich Ihnen im letzten durch Tendler und Manstein übermachte, nicht sind, jedoch sind einige neue entstanden wie z. B. im ersten Stück 2 Takte fehlen etc — lassen Sie nun das neulich überschickte Verzeichniss gänzlich liegen, ü. halten sich an dieses als das letzte ü. authentische. — für hier Sorge ich, so auch, was das Nachstechen betrifft — was die Messe anbetrifft, so verirrte ich mich gestern in Louisdors, da ich gerade irgendwo hinschreiben musste, wo d. g. sind, ich verlange *eigentlich 200 Dukaten in Gold als Honorar dafür*, u. bitte nochmals mir gleich die Antwort zu schreiben, da ich mir einen Aufschub wegen Ihnen mache, u. Zaudern mir Verlust bringt; was die Sonaten anbelangt, so bitte ich Sie ebenfalls die Anweisung zu machen, dass die mir Duk. (1) [*sic*] 60 (2) ebenfalls hier in Gold ausgefolgt werden.

Es geht Gottlob wieder täglich besser mit meiner Gesundheit, u. so darf ich hoffen, dass auch meine geistigen Kräfte zunehmen — über meinen Geschäftstyl werden Sie ein wenig lachen, ich bin eben äusserst ungeschickt darin, u. gewohnt, dass mir ein Freund alles besorgt, der nicht hier ist.

in Eil ihr mit [Achtung] ergebenster Beethoven.

IV

Wien

dem 9ten Apr.

1822.

Euer wohlgebohrn,

Ich glaube Ihnen schon geschrieben zu haben dass die Korrektur der Lieder von hier abgeschickt worden, jedoch geht erst durch *Verhinderung* mit dem morgigen Postwagen die *Neue*

<sup>(\*)</sup> This is the twenty-first, not the twentieth, bar in the Breitkopf & Härtel edition.

*Abschrift des letzten Satzes der 3<sup>ten</sup> Sonate.*<sup>(10)</sup> Ich bitte Sie gleich beim Empfang den selbigen mit einem Zeichen zu bezeichnen, damit diese Abschrift mit der, die sie schon haben, nicht verwechselt werde, und letztere vernichten Sie sogleich.

Wegen den Schottischen Liedern<sup>(11)</sup> schrieb ich Ihnen schon, dass besser vom Dichter auf die langen u. kurzen Silben, welche letztere oft auf *lange* Noten u. die erstere auf kurze Nothen gerathen sind. Es lässt sich zwar etwas entschuld[igen] in dieser Art. Wäre der Dichter hier, so wäre [es] leicht, jetzt aber bin ich so überhäuft beschäftigt dass es mir nicht mögl[ich] ist. Hr. Zelter<sup>(12)</sup>, ein Mann von Kenntniss in der Poesie wie es sich für einen ausgezeichneten Autor schickt, würde ja bald Ihnen helfen können diese kleinen Flecken abzuwaschen. Ich lasse mich ihm bestens empfehlen [*sic*]. Um was die Messe anbetrifft, ich habe Ihnen schon zugesagt Ihnen die Messe *samt Klavierauszug* für den Ehrensold von R.650 preus. courante zu überlassen. Wegen der Copiatur Kosten, so sollen selbe Ihnen so geringe als nur mögl[ich] angerechnet werden. Ich dünkte wenn Sie noch folgenden Vorschlag annähmen, so würden Sie dieselben gar noch weniger grämen. Ich gebe Ihnen noch 2 (zwei) Lieder\* wofür ich nicht mehr als 45fl. C.M. verlange, (da man mir hier für jedes Lied in die Modezeitung<sup>(13)</sup> 8 Dukaten in Gold bezahlt und ich obendrein bisher alle Jahrgänge derselben frei für mich erhalte). Hier wäre diese 45 fl.C.M. noch zu den R.650 Preus. courante eine runde Summe, welches mir ebenfalls genehmer wäre. Sobald die Anweis[ung] hier ist u. acceptirt wird, schicke ich sogleich die Messe wie auch die Lieder an Sie ab. Es wird nöthig sein, die Anweis[ung] an ein hiesiges gutes Haus wie Geimüller et Cie belieben zu machen; — da der Wechsel ein Monath *nach* Sicht (welches ich jezt erst weiss, was es ist) sein soll; so ist es jezt die höchste Zeit diese Sache in Ordnung zu bringen, u. ich erwarte mit angehender Post darüber ihre Verfügungen. Kopiator wird auf das Sorglichste besorgt damit gar kein hin-u-herschicken nöthig ist

Ihr

Mit Achtung

Beethoven

<sup>(10)</sup> i.e. Sonata in C minor (op. 111), published in 1823 (Nottebohm, *op. cit.* 106, 107).

<sup>(11)</sup> The twenty-five Scottish Songs (op. 108) published by Schlesinger at the end of 1821. (*ibid.* 105.)

<sup>(12)</sup> Karl Friedrich Zelter, director of the Singakademie, Berlin.

<sup>(13)</sup> A Viennese periodical in which Beethoven first published his songs 'Das Geheimniss' (1816) and 'So oder so' (1817) (Nottebohm, *op. cit.*, p. 184).

\*Erhalten Sie in Manusc.<sup>(14)</sup>

Address: An seine wohlgebohrn Hr. A. M. Schlesinger in  
Berlin berühmten Musikal: und Kunst-Händler.

## V

*Half a sheet (torn) of a letter in Beethoven's autograph.<sup>(15)</sup>*

... sie möchten sich ferner noch[?] gerne einmischen, u. ich will  
sie diese Alletags Menschen[?] eben so wenig für mich als für Karl.  
— dass sie der N. gerne verzeihen, glaube ich auch, ich denke  
auch so, aber ich kann sie nun doch nicht mehr anders als eine  
*Unmoralische Person* betrachten, u. wir werden schon . . .  
. . . essen wird, dem Hime [I muss?] ich danken, dass  
ich überall Menschen finde, die sich besonders jetzt meiner  
annehmen, so hat sich einer der ausgezeichnetesten Professoren  
an der hiesigen Universität gefunden, der mir alles was Karls  
Unterricht betrifft, aufs beste . . .

<sup>(14)</sup> Cancelled in MS.

<sup>(15)</sup> This fragment was probably addressed to Frau Nanette Streicher, and passed from her into the possession of Ernst Pauer. It seems to date from 1818, when Beethoven's nephew, Karl, had been taken away from Giannatasio's institute, and new means of education were being sought for him. "N" is Nanni, Beethoven's housemaid; cf. Kalischer, *op. cit.*, III, Nos 741, 742.

## HAYDN AT OXFORD: 1773-1791

By ROSEMARY S. M. HUGHES

It is one of the landmarks in the development of the composer's status from that of an employee to that of a high priest that Haydn should have been acclaimed here as an international celebrity from the moment he landed on Dover Quay on New Year's Day 1791. Unlike Handel and Mozart, he had no instrumental virtuosity with which to capture the musical public; he was, by his own confession, no wizard—"kein Hexenmeister"—as a violinist and his keyboard-playing, though adequate for the purpose of conducting from the harpsichord, was not in the same class as Mozart's. For Haydn, at fifty-eight, his English journey was the first he had ever made outside the Austrian Empire, whereas Handel had made his name in Italy and in England before he was thirty, and Mozart gave concerts in London at the age of nine. And yet Haydn, without executive brilliance or the publicity of the "personal appearance", came to England with a European reputation—a reputation which his works alone had made. The full story of its growth has still to be written. All that will be attempted here is to give a short account of Oxford's gradual adoption of him, from the first recorded performance of a work of his there in 1773 until that Commemoration Week in July 1791, when the University conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Music.

The centre of Oxford's musical life in the eighteenth century was the Music Room in Holywell, which has been described as "the oldest music room in Europe"<sup>(1)</sup>. It was opened in 1748, having been built with funds raised by a subscription scheme set on foot six years earlier. Here were held weekly subscription concerts every Monday evening during term-time, while at least once every term was given an oratorio or a "Grand Miscellaneous Concert" with "one capital Vocal Performer and one capital Instrumental Performer". In addition, benefit concerts were allowed to regular members of the performing body.<sup>(2)</sup> The

<sup>(1)</sup> 'The Oldest Music Room in Europe. A record of Eighteenth-Century enterprise in Oxford'. By John H. Mee. (London, 1911.)

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7, 22, 39, 40.



committee of the Music Room, which organized not only the regular termly concerts but also the musical programmes for Commemoration Week, consisted of twenty members, each College being represented.<sup>(3)</sup>

Of all these concerts the programmes dating from the autumn of 1788 have been preserved in a fairly complete sequence in the Bodleian Library<sup>(4)</sup>; earlier than this they are very scarce, but are to some extent supplemented by the advertisements appearing in 'Jackson's Oxford Journal', Oxford's weekly newspaper (in the provinces a weekly was a *newspaper* then). These, however, only advertise the termly oratorios, the "Grand Miscellaneous Concerts" and the benefit concerts, and even so they rarely announce the programmes of the instrumental concerts. Even where the programme is given, works other than opera or oratorio overtures hardly ever bear any indication of key or number, but are for the most part simply described as "Sinfonia", "Full-Piece" or "Overture" (at that time synonymous terms). It is thus clearly impossible to make a complete list of the Haydn performances at Oxford before 1791 or to identify more than a small proportion of the works played. But such evidence as we possess shows that he took his place in the Oxford repertory in the 1770s and gained such a hold over the concert-going public that by the end of the 1780s he stood second only to Handel in their affections.

As early as November 1773 the leading cellist of the Music Room orchestra, Monro,<sup>(5)</sup> included in his benefit concert a Haydn quartet, announced as "Quartetto 6th, Op. 7th"<sup>(6)</sup> and his 1775 benefit opened with a Haydn "Overture".<sup>(7)</sup> In 1776 he advertises his benefit as "A CONCERT OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC in which the celebrated Mr. LYDEL will perform several favourite Airs on the BARITON".<sup>(8)</sup> This was no other than Andreas Lidl, who from 1769 to 1774 was a member of Prince Esterházy's musical establishment; he was a virtuoso performer on the prince's own instrument, the barytone or *viola di bordone* (a *viola da gamba* with

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 43.

<sup>(4)</sup> 'Oxford Concert Programmes', 2 vols.; Bodleian Library, Mus. 1 d 64.

<sup>(5)</sup> Mee, 'The Oldest Music Room in Europe', pp. 30, 68.

<sup>(6)</sup> 'Jackson's Oxford Journal', Nov. 10th 1773. The Op. 9 Quartets were published as "Op. 7" both by Hummel and by Longman & Lukey (the Longman & Lukey edition is in the library of the Royal College of Music). The date of publication given in the table at the end of the article 'Haydn's 83', by Marion Scott ('Music & Letters', July 1930, p. 222) is 1775, but Miss Scott herself has very kindly informed me that recent research points to their having been published earlier. If the Quartet played at Oxford is indeed No. 6 of Longman & Lukey's Op. 7, it can be identified as Op. 9 No. 5 in B $\flat$  major.

<sup>(7)</sup> 'Jackson's Oxford Journal', Nov. 11th 1775.

<sup>(8)</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 9th 1776.

sympathetic strings), for which Haydn wrote over 170 works.<sup>(9)</sup> Two days after the concert a news item in 'Jackson's Oxford Journal' announces that "Mr. Lydel, who gained great applause by his performance on the bariton at Mr. Monro's Benefit on Thursday Night, is engaged to perform at the Music Room on Monday next".<sup>(10)</sup> Even so brief a mention as this points to the concert as having been something of an event, for in those days newspapers made little attempt at musical criticism. Lidl left behind him some of his own chamber compositions, which were still performed twelve years later,<sup>(11)</sup> and it is impossible that he should not have brought some of Haydn's works; though if those he brought were all barytone pieces, they would hardly have remained in the repertory in the absence of the virtuoso for whom they were designed.

There is no programme for either of the concerts at which Lidl appeared, nor for Monro's benefit in the following year, and his 1778 benefit contained no Haydn. Haydn returns to Monro's programme in 1779, however, and appears in the programme of a Mr. Woodcock's benefit in 1780.<sup>(12)</sup> An isolated programme for one of the weekly subscription concerts early in 1781 concludes with a "Sinfonia, MS," by Haydn<sup>(13)</sup> and in the autumn of that year Salomon made his first appearance at Oxford.<sup>(14)</sup> In his 1782 benefit the faithful Monro once again included a Haydn work—a "Sinfonia, MS, with Horns &c."<sup>(15)</sup> By this time Haydn was sufficiently popular to make the publication of keyboard arrangements of his symphonies profitable even to local music publishers. On January 20th 1781 "A FAVOURITE SYMPHONY of GIUSEPPE HAYDN Adapted to the HARPSICHORD or PIANO FORTE, By Dr. PHIL. HAYES"—then Heather Professor of Music—was advertised in the Journal as having been "Printed for W. Mathews in the High Street, Oxford". This "favourite symphony" was the one in F, No. 67 of the chronological list. Both the Bodleian Library and the British Museum contain copies of Hayes's arrangement of it,<sup>(16)</sup>

<sup>(9)</sup> C. F. Pohl and H. Botstiber, 'Joseph Haydn', Vol. II, pp. 18, 19, Leipzig, 1878-1927).

<sup>(10)</sup> 'Jackson's Oxford Journal', Nov. 16th 1776.

<sup>(11)</sup> Oxford Concert Programmes, Oct. 27th, Nov. 10th 1788; Feb. 26th, Dec. 4th 1789; April 1st 1790.

<sup>(12)</sup> 'Jackson's Oxford Journal', Nov. 20th 1779 and June 15th 1780.

<sup>(13)</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Top. Oxon. d 281: programme, Jan. 8th 1781.

<sup>(14)</sup> 'Jackson's Oxford Journal', Nov. 10th 1781.

<sup>(15)</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 2nd 1782.

<sup>(16)</sup> The copy in the British Museum is Mathews's edition; that in the Bodleian Library was "Printed for Henry Hardy in the High Street Oxford". Hardy probably took over Mathews's business (Kidson, 'British Music Publishers', p. 172, London, 1900).

which Burney criticized as "very hard and awkward"!<sup>(127)</sup>

From 1782 onwards even Monro gave up including the programme in his concert advertisements. There is thus a gap in the evidence from the end of that year until October 20th 1788, the date of the first programme in the Bodleian Library collection. This collection contains programmes for thirty-eight of the forty-odd concerts which were given between that date and Commemoration Week 1791. Of these thirty-eight, eighteen—nearly all weekly subscription concerts—were given in the first six months. But then, in May 1789, the weekly concerts were suspended for financial reasons,<sup>(128)</sup> so that the twenty concerts given in the next two years were all benefit or "Grand Miscellaneous" concerts. During these two and a half years Haydn's name appears in twenty-nine of the thirty-eight programmes and there were no fewer than thirty performances of his works—or thirty-two if he be allowed a share in the lately-disputed B $\flat$  major Symphony. Even Handel, with forty-two performances of instrumental works (vocal works being excluded from the reckoning) only surpasses Haydn's total by ten; the runners-up—Abel with seventeen performances and Vanhal with thirteen—lag far behind. The other contemporary composers—among whom are Dittersdorf, Stamitz, Gluck, Pleyel, Gossec and Bach (presumably Johann Christian, "the English" Bach, d. 1782)—all have less than ten performances. Oxford concert-goers clearly felt that Haydn's music was "*plus* a little something the others haven't got".

Of the very few works with identifiable names or numbers, two, "Sinfonia 1, Op. 39"<sup>(129)</sup> and "Overture, Periodical No. 3 in D",<sup>(130)</sup> have so far proved completely baffling. Three others, "Overture in E $\flat$ ", "Sinfonia with Kettle-Drums" and "Sinfonia MS in G",<sup>(131)</sup> cannot be pinned down with certainty; but it is tempting to infer that the "Sinfonia MS in G", played on May 18th 1791, at a Mr. Hayward's benefit concert (at which Haydn himself had promised to appear but failed to do so owing to a rehearsal at the Opera),<sup>(132)</sup> was actually the 'Oxford' Symphony, which, because

<sup>(127)</sup> Letter to the Rev. T. Twining (no date), British Museum, Add. MS 39932 f 165, discussing keyboard arrangements of Haydn symphonies. After referring to Nos. 53 and 74, he continues "Another of the 3 in parts set by Dr. Hayes (*ric*)—'tis in F [quotes opening bars]. He has made it very hard and awkward—but you can simplify—'tis delightful".

<sup>(128)</sup> 'Jackson's Oxford Journal', Feb. 7th, April 11th, May 2nd, May 9th 1789; Mee, 'The Oldest Music Room in Europe', p. 117. The weekly concerts were not resumed till 1792.

<sup>(129)</sup> Programmes, Jan. 26th 1789.

<sup>(130)</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 23rd 1789. No. 3 of Bremner's Periodical Overtures is by Stamitz.

<sup>(131)</sup> *Ibid.*, May 10th and 18th 1791.

<sup>(132)</sup> 'Jackson's Oxford Journal' for May 21st contains Hayward's apology for Haydn's non-appearance, while the issue of May 28th contains an apology and explanation from Haydn himself. The story is told in J. H. Mee, 'The Oldest Music Room in Europe', pp. 133-135.

it was familiar to the players, replaced the newer work originally intended for the first of the Commemoration concerts.<sup>(101)</sup> The "Symphony in G, beginning with the Horns", however,<sup>(102)</sup> can only be No. 47 of the chronological list, which fits this description exactly. The 'Roxolane' Symphony (No. 63) was played three times<sup>(103)</sup> and "Symphony, Periodical, No. 40"—which is the recently disputed B $\flat$  major Symphony, No. 40 of the Periodical Overtures published by Bremner—was played twice.<sup>(104)</sup> But by far the most popular was one described by the cheerful name of "Overture Festino", which was played no less than eight times.<sup>(105)</sup> The problem of its identity has been solved, thanks to the methodical habits of one of the first owners of a set of eighteenth-century part-books—now in the library of the Royal College of Music—containing a collection of Haydn symphonies.<sup>(106)</sup> On the fly-leaf of the first-violin book he made a thematic list, in which the name "Festino" is attached to the opening bars of a *vivace* which is the first movement, with the slow introduction omitted, of the Symphony in D major, No. 53 of the chronological list. The word "festino" seems to have meant a musical party: Gallini gave a series of "Subscription Festinos" at the Hanover Square Rooms in 1775,<sup>(107)</sup> and the name seems to have stuck to the rooms, for Haydn's Op. 64 Quartets are described on the title-page of Bland's edition as having been "composed by Giuseppe Haydn and performed under his Direction at the Festino Rooms Hanover Square".<sup>(108)</sup> But how it came to be attached to this particular Symphony I have been unable to discover.

<sup>(101)</sup> C. F. Pohl & H. Botstiber, 'Joseph Haydn', Vol. III, p. 26.

<sup>(102)</sup> Programmes, Feb. 23rd 1789.

<sup>(103)</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 24th 1788, Feb. 16th and June 25th 1789.

<sup>(104)</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 4th 1789, March 2nd 1790. Marion M. Scott, in 'The Monthly Musical Record', March-April 1939, attributes the first two movements to Michael and the last to Joseph.

<sup>(105)</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 10th 1788, Feb. 9th, March 2nd, June 24th, Nov. 18th, Dec. 11th 1789, May 12th 1790, March 10th 1791. It is curious that only one chamber work appears—a "Quartetto Flute", probably one of the 'Six Quatuor [sic] à Flûte, Violon, Alto & Basse', published by Bremner as "Opera Quinta", of which the British Museum possesses a copy.

<sup>(106)</sup> R.C.M. Library, LIX B 5.


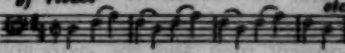
<sup>(107)</sup> 'Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser', Thurs. Feb. 16th 1775: "The Subscription Festino, In Hanover-Square, This Day, the 16th instant, will begin with A Concert, at Half Past Eight". It is thus described in a letter written on the following day: "There was a new thing last night at Bach's room in Hanover Square, called the Festino . . . 'tis under the direction of Gallini and is to be weekly, like Almack's. As I understand, the plan is a dinner for gentlemen. At eight or nine the ladies are to come, then catches and glee till supper and after, dancing". (Mrs. Harris to her son, from 'A Series of Letters of the first Earl of Malmesbury, his family and friends, from 1740 to 1820', Vol. I, p. 292, London, 1870; quoted by C. S. Terry, 'John Christian Bach', p. 142, London, 1929.) The 'Shorter Oxford English Dictionary' quotes a reference by Horace Walpole to "Madam Griffoni's festino". I owe these references to the kindness of Mr. C. B. Oldman.

<sup>(108)</sup> Quoted on p. 131 of 'Music & Letters', April 1932, in the article 'Haydn: Relics and Reminiscences in England', by Marion M. Scott.

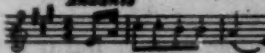



The popularity of the Symphony was by no means confined to Oxford<sup>(131)</sup> and is attested by the number—and the confusion—of the editions in which it appeared. The set of parts in the library of the Royal College of Music, published by Hummel, gives four movements, but omits the *adagio* introduction found in the Leduc full score (published about 1802 and also in the Royal College of Music Library).<sup>(132)</sup> The English editions by Blundell and Preston follow Hummel<sup>(133)</sup>; but two keyboard versions were published, by Dale and Preston,<sup>(134)</sup> in both of which the first movement is omitted and the last movement (quoted in the thematic catalogue in the Breitkopf collected edition as Overture No. 7) is put in its place, with the second subject of the real first movement interpolated before its own second subject! Moreover, the last movement in the Leduc full score is not "Overture 7" at all, but an entirely different *presto*; Pohl describes it as a "Capriccio Moderato"; and the version given in Cianchettini and Sperati's 'Complete Collection of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven's Symphonies in score', published c. 1808 and copied from the Leduc score, opens with the slow introduction to the first movement but conforms to the English usage by keeping the "Overture 7" finale.<sup>(135)</sup> The themes of the various movements are given below:

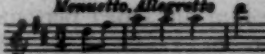

1st Movement  
a) *Adagio*      b) *Vivace* etc.

I  etc.  etc.


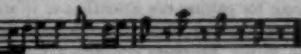
2nd Movement  
*Andante*

II  etc.  etc.

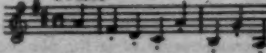

3rd Movement  
*Menuetto, Allegretto*

III  etc.  etc.

Finale of English Editions, and Overture 7  
*Presto*

IV A  etc.  etc.

Finale of Leduc Edition  
*Presto*

IV B  etc.  etc.

<sup>(131)</sup> William Gardiner ('Music and Friends', pp. 66, 67, London, 1838) states that "a sinfonia of Haydn with this subject [quotes the *meno*] was the first note of that author heard in Leicester".

<sup>(132)</sup> R.C.M. Library, LIX B 1 (II), i.

<sup>(133)</sup> British Museum, g 75 d (1), g 474 b (1).

<sup>(134)</sup> British Museum, H 2815 (1), g 443 b (15).

<sup>(135)</sup> C. F. Pohl, 'Joseph Haydn', Vol. II, pp. 265, 266. Both the British Museum

Burney sums up the situation in the letter to his friend Twining already quoted<sup>(90)</sup>; he writes:

There have been 6 or 7 of Haydn's Symphonies tolerably cooked for the Harp'd or P.forte—But whole movements being omitted, in 3 of them, for the sake of my scholars, I have adapted & given him them to print & will let you know when they are ready. The 1st Symph. you know. It begins thus, in D [movement IV A above] but the 1st movemt. is omitted, of which the Base begins thus: [movement I b above]. Giordani & Carter have both adapted this symph. entirely but *secondo di me* [?] very ill—both having taken unwarrantable liberties wth. the Author.

Besides all these full-length versions, the Andante and the Minuet were detached and set to a variety of words, mostly romantic and occasionally slightly improper.<sup>(91)</sup>

This chaotic profusion of editions points to a popularity as great as it was short-lived, for the Symphony seems to have dropped out of the repertory completely in the nineteenth century.<sup>(92)</sup> Its vivacious but not very subtle charm explains both the enthusiasm which it aroused at first and its later overshadowing by the glories of the 'Oxford' Symphony and the great Salomon sets. But without its infectious popularity Haydn's visit to Oxford might not have been the triumph that it was. Haydn himself said, years later: "I have that doctorate to thank for much, if not all of my success in England: it brought me the acquaintanceship of the most prominent men and the *entrée* into the greatest houses".<sup>(93)</sup> He undoubtedly overestimated the influence of his degree and—characteristically—underestimated that of his own racy and humorous personality and his irresistible music. But it is beyond question that the degree counted for much, not only in the public eye, but also in his own. It gave him an added personal poise and assurance, and this was but the reflection of an inner

and the R.C.M. library possess the Cianchettini and Sperati score. I am grateful to Mr. Oldman for calling my attention to it and the Leduc score.

<sup>(90)</sup> British Museum, Add. MS 39932 f 165; quoted above, footnote 17.

<sup>(91)</sup> The British Museum contains a selection of these settings; the Andante became 'Adieu My Charming Fair', 'Morning' and 'A Prelude to Auld Robin Gray'. . . Adapted to the principal Movement in Haydn's favorite Overture', and the Minuet was turned into 'Yorick's Fille de Chambre'.

<sup>(92)</sup> I have not found it in an Oxford programme later than 1809. The British Museum contains several nineteenth-century arrangements of it for pianoforte; the Andante was arranged for organ and in various other ways, and was transformed into a hymn-tune, to the words of 'Brightly Gleams our Banner' and 'Onward Christian Soldiers'!

<sup>(93)</sup> A. C. Dies, 'Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn' (p. 133, Vienna, 1810): "Jedoch habe ich dieser Doctorwürde in England Viel, ja ich möchte sagen Alles zu verdanken; durch sie trat ich in die Bekanntschaft der ersten Männer und hatte Zutritt in den größten Häusern".

emancipation to which the surpassing splendour of the London symphonies and the experimental boldness of 'The Creation' and 'The Seasons' bear witness. In bringing about this consummation the little "Festino" Symphony, and the Oxford concert-goers who welcomed it and—when the time came—welcomed its creator, were privileged to play a fractional part before they were forgotten.

## A ROMANTIC DILETTANTE: ÉMILE DESCHAMPS (1791-1871)

BY G. JEAN-AUBRY

*Nous devons nous méfier d'une certaine tendance qui nous porte trop souvent tant à rapporter en propre aux chefs de file ce qu'ils tenaient en réalité de leur époque qu'à dépouiller à leur profit les auteurs mineurs, du fait que les uns nous les avons trop étudiés et pas assez les autres.*

*Jacques Crépét, concerning Baudelaire.*

THE more one studies the history of letters and of art the more certain one becomes that it is no better off than political history : laziness and forgetfulness, if not dishonesty, play just the same part in it, and there is the same constant desire to reduce the countless works and endless facts that deserve better than to be thrust disdainfully and precipitately into the shade to a few names and easy formulas. Round the great figures of history there is a void into which the human refuse of the centuries is thrown pell-mell, and above this litter a few heroes are hastily elevated who seem to have had neither father nor mother, to owe nothing to anybody but themselves and to have risen fully armed from the soil. It is as though people took pleasure in provoking their own astonishment by setting up figures without roots or foundations, heavy and yet floating, like some more human replica from the most remote mythologies. The taste for fables is nowhere near being relinquished by mankind, and writings that endeavour to do justice to each artist will never have as great a following as those which conjure up miraculous personages, independent of the very laws of gravity and deprived of all verisimilitude.

The history of French literary romanticism does not escape these mythical leanings. It has been reduced to a few front-rank figures : Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny, Théophile Gautier, Alfred de Musset. If one were to believe the compilers of manuals, these poets alone would have renewed French verse from top to bottom during the first half of last century, and the other poets of the time would have done nothing but either imitate or oppose them. Writers are too ready to keep silence about the influences



first undergone by those who were destined to become the most original and about the debts the latter contracted with certain intellects who outlined innovations without pushing them to their final conclusions. Even now, in spite of Aristide Marie's admirable work, the importance of Gérard de Nerval in the romantic movement is scarcely recognized, and the resources of his exceptional originality are as yet far from having been fully understood. And a charming personality and far-sighted inquirer like Émile Deschamps, though a less important figure than Nerval, has fallen into unjust neglect for all that Henri Girard devoted a good deal of very exhaustive work to him.<sup>(1)</sup> Even those who are most intimately familiar with the history of poetry are at the most aware that about 1830, during the first period of romanticism, there were two brother-poets, Émile and Antoni Deschamps. It is known more or less vaguely that the latter won a certain amount of renown by his French translation of Dante's 'Divina commedia'; the former means no more to most people than a few scattered poems, a vague and mild portrait, or simply a name. That is all as far as general literary education is concerned.

Yet Émile Deschamps has a double claim to a prominent place in the history of letters and the arts: it was in great part due to him that French romanticism showed a particular curiosity in foreign literature. He initiated the companions of his youth into the great currents of European poetry, which is in itself a considerable achievement. At the same time he was probably among all the French romantic writers the one who showed the most constant, enterprising and enlightened taste for music.

Born in 1791 as the son of a cultivated father to whose tastes he always remained affectionately attached, he retained all his life a certain predilection for the madrigalesque manners and poetry of the eighteenth century; but this attachment was accompanied by the most lively curiosity in all the latest forms of art produced by his own time, abroad as well as in France.

His life offers the historian no romantic incidents: it was almost wholly uneventful apart from his artistic discoveries. As an official in the Administration of Finance he had a peaceful and obscure career, in spite of the political changes that succeeded each other in France during the first third of the nineteenth century. Amiable and sociable, he came into touch with the most remarkable writers, painters and musicians of his time, and being either independent or indifferent in political matters, he knew how to make himself

<sup>(1)</sup> Henri Girard, 'Émile Deschamps', one vol., pp. 575, and 'Émile Deschamps, dilettante', one vol., pp. 123. (Champion, Paris, 1921.)

appreciated, esteemed or liked in the most diverse circles—whose opinions often made them hostile to each other—by the richness and liveliness of his talk as well as by the charm and distinction of his manners.

He had spent part of his early youth learning several foreign languages, and by 1820—the year in which Lamartine's 'Méditations' appeared—he was engaged on a translation of Schiller's 'Lied von der Glocke'. Soon afterwards he undertook a French version of Goethe's 'Braut von Korinth', whereupon, changing from German to Spanish, he made a remarkable adaptation of the 'Romancero del Cid' and so discovered romantic Spain well before Victor Hugo and Alfred de Musset, who knew it through him. Long attracted by Shakespeare, he translated 'Macbeth' and 'Romeo and Juliet' in 1826, the latter in collaboration with Alfred de Vigny. Lastly, in 1828, and thus before the famous production of Hugo's 'Hernani', he collected in a volume entitled 'Études françaises et étrangères' some of his own poems together with his translations of Schiller, Goethe and the 'Romancero', introducing this book by an astonishingly lively and discerning preface, where he traced in advance the whole romantic movement in France.

In 1830 he was considered the equal of Hugo and Vigny in importance and merit by the literary circles. Then came the social upheaval of the Revolution of that year. Deschamps found himself overwhelmed by events in which he did not wish to take any share, and overtaken by his literary brothers-in-arms. He lived on for more than forty years, indulgent to contradictory political movements, attentive and always ready to admire when faced with new works of art. Living in retirement at Versailles, he continued to write without ambition or envy and kept himself informed with extraordinary alertness. While younger men than he were scandalized, he welcomed Baudelaire in a splendid letter on the very day after the appearance of 'Les Fleurs du mal', and only a few months before his death he encouraged Stéphane Mallarmé, sending him amiable little verses such as Voltaire would have enjoyed.

A refined, charming and exceptional personality, who remained a stranger to all vanity and seemed to live only in order to defend and admire those who had greater talent or greater ambition, Émile Deschamps deserves better of the world than to be forgotten, even from the literary point of view alone; but I shall here examine only his contacts with music, which are devoid neither of surprises, of importance, nor of charm.

The French authors of the romantic era are generally supposed to have detested music. It is hard to tell on what this current opinion may be based. Perhaps on the single fact that Victor Hugo had no use for it, even when he happened to refer to Mozart or Beethoven, not without rhyme, but without reason, and as a rule with a rather frigid magniloquence. Neither Lamartine nor Vigny was insensible to music, nor was even Théophile Gautier, to whom the epigram about music as the most expensive of all noises has been wrongly attributed. One has but to read 'Massimilla Doni' to become aware that Balzac was by no means tone-deaf, and the inexhaustible pleasure Stendhal took in music is well known. It is true that the latter's taste never advanced beyond Italian music such as that of Cimarosa or Rossini, and France had to wait for a Baudelaire or a Villiers de l'Isle Adam to meet a poet's mind in which a taste for music was joined by a disposition to study its ways and means; but on the whole the French romantic writers' love for music was no smaller than that which was the general fashion of the time, and we all know that romanticism in every country was, so to speak, bathed in a musical atmosphere.

Among the dilettanti Émile Deschamps was not the most typical, to be sure, but one of the most remarkable by virtue of his breadth of vision. Only Eugène Delacroix can be compared with him in this respect. Although they were both attached to the music of Mozart and Cimarosa by the conditions of their birth, their time and their environment, these two never opposed a stubborn ear or an intractable mind to the new forms brought forward by Beethoven, Weber and Schubert. They saw something very different in music from a simple relaxation from the arts they themselves practised: they knew its graces, but did not reject its severity and nobility. Deschamps took a more intimate and direct part in this approach than the great painter who was his friend; he showed a more liberal spirit than Delacroix, and he may thus in a way be taken nowadays as the most complete image of the "romantic dilettante".

This kind of music-lover was somewhat different from that which we meet to-day. The very idea people then had of certain musical works seems surprising to us now, even when it came to opera. It was rather more than a century since people had lost their taste for and very nearly the memory of the musical tragedy as conceived by Lully, Rameau and Gluck, a species in which musicians had aimed at the most faithful representation of feelings, of sensations, of the motions of heart and mind. About 1825 opera was seen to be nothing but a pretext for vocal virtuosity and for the exhibition of the legs of dancers. Human truth or the simplest semblance of

reality was the least concern of composers, as of the public. The most glaring proof of this may be found in the incredible favour enjoyed for such a long time by the operatic *pasticcio*, which may be said to have been nothing more than the apparently rather more austere outcome of the principle which a century earlier had presided over the confection of 'The Beggar's Opera'. Thus in the year 1826 Paris saw the representation, on the stage of the Théâtre Royal de l'Odéon, of an opera by Rossini whose libretto was by Émile Deschamps and G. de Wailly. The whole thing, arranged, it was said, with much ability by Signor Pacini, was entitled 'Ivanhoe'—nothing more nor less. It ought to be added that in this adventure Walter Scott remained almost as much a stranger to the librettists as to the composer. The latter at any rate had taken no direct share in the piece, seeing that the music of this so-called opera, although certainly by Rossini, had been borrowed from the scores of 'Semiramide', 'Mosè', 'Tancredi' and 'La gazza ladra'. It will be easily understood that there could be nothing particularly "Scottish" about such a medley.

The libretto was but vaguely connected with Scott's novel, and without wishing to excuse Deschamps, one may recall that forty years later the same kind of thing was done to 'The Fair Maid of Perth' for Georges Bizet, who, however, did at least write his music specially for it. Little respect as Deschamps and his collaborator showed in this case for the nature and the character of 'Ivanhoe', we must not lose sight of the fact to-day that the very choice of such a subject for a libretto was a daring feat at that time. It meant that inspiration was sought in a spirit of new enterprise, that the conceptions of romantic art were made to take hold of the operatic stage and that a break was made with the tradition according to which an opera libretto had of necessity to be drawn from mythology, from antiquity or at least from chivalric literature. It is true that Spontini had broken with this tradition fifteen years earlier with his 'Fernando Cortez', but that was an exception without further consequences, made in order to obey the injunctions of Napoleon himself, who had seen nothing more significant in that subject than a means of influencing public opinion at the moment he was about to enter upon a war with Spain. Deschamps's merit, in spite of the mediocrity with which his libretto had been carried out, was to have understood the necessity of revolutionizing opera as Hugo had revolutionized the drama, of taking advantage of literary picturesqueness and of creating a grand spectacular work in which the suggestions of painting and literature were to take a conspicuous place next to the musical resources by giving them new outlets and blending



with them. It must be remembered that Meyerbeer was still only groping his way towards this kind of opera at that time. Deschamps was in fact a forerunner in this respect up to a certain point, and his knowledge of foreign literatures helped to show him his way towards these innovations. Unfortunately the libretto of 'Ivanhoe' was put together in extreme haste, so that it is valuable only as a pointer, not as an achievement.

This clearly-defined endeavour to "romanticize" opera was to show itself again a little later, when Émile Deschamps attempted nothing less than a new French libretto for Mozart's 'Don Giovanni', a work that had been sadly maltreated in translation by Kalkbrenner and his assistants at the beginning of the century. No doubt the "improvements" made by Émile Deschamps and Henri Castil-Blaze may seem to us to-day not only relative, but doubtful; for, when all is said, to break up Mozart's two acts into five, to make a cut in the second finale for the sake of introducing a ridiculous Moorish knight and a no less absurd ballet, and moreover to add passages from the Requiem to that finale can hardly be taken as indicating respect for Mozart's masterpiece. But one must add in extenuation that this massacre was not due to Deschamps: it was the elder Castil-Blaze who was guilty, for he had thought fit to pander to the taste of a public which regarded 'La Sonnambula' and 'Lucia di Lammermoor' as specimens of good opera and, in no way aware of Mozart's *dramatic* power, persisted in seeing him only as the inventor of exquisitely suave melodies. What mattered, therefore, was that French words should be found to match the melodic contours as well as possible, and in that respect at least Deschamps succeeded to perfection. Even to-day his libretto may be read with pleasure for its language, and his text fits the Mozartian melody with a smoothness that proves not only a great literary adaptability in the author but also an excellent musical ear.

But the part Émile Deschamps took in the reshaping of 'Don Giovanni' was not limited to that, and it must not be imagined that Castil-Blaze's travesty was unanimously welcomed. The most influential critic of the time, Jules Janin, protested in terms that still do him honour. On the other hand Blaze's own confidences and confessions incontestably establish the fact that he accepted such responsibilities with the light heart of one who could not forget that Weber's 'Freischütz' failed to succeed in France until it had been maimed, mutilated and falsified as 'Robin des bois'. He had been content to fit the prose of Molière's 'Don Juan' to Mozart's recitatives without any particular care. Deschamps took

more trouble, and it is not difficult to see that at some points of his version he was inspired not only by Lorenzo da Ponte's original libretto, but also by certain psychological indications furnished by the Spanish Don Juan play of Tirso de Molina, 'El burlador de Sevilla'. In this way the libretto recaptured something of the dramatic character of the music, and Deschamps showed that he was not a hasty manufacturer of libretti, but a poet, a fine linguist and a lover of music. It was not his fault if his collaborator in this venture failed to show himself his equal in taste and knowledge.

If the charm of Mozart's tunes could not fail to enchant this delightful man, he was also ready to be captivated by attractions of a lower standard. Much attached as he was to the fashionable drawing-rooms at a time when these Parisian *salons* still determined the success or failure of musical works, it is not surprising that Émile Deschamps was apt to regard music as a form of worldly pleasure. His easy gift of writing amiable verses and setting graceful words to the least tune he happened to hear naturally exposed him to the solicitations of song-writers who knew well enough how successful he was in the drawing-rooms and how valuable his support was likely to be.

It is easy—and justified—to look with disdain upon a species of music that has given rise to so much bad or mediocre work and let loose the sentimentality of a whole generation in veritable cataracts; but it must also be admitted that the *romance* was not without its influence on the renaissance of lyric poetry, in France and elsewhere. Unfortunately France at that time knew neither Schubert nor Schumann, nor the treasures which Scotland and Ireland had to offer. This union of poetry and music was at first, and for too long a time to come, confined to the drawing-rooms and kept the sickly-sweet tone of genteel sentiment.

Among the poets who wrote for the composers of *romances* Émile Deschamps was one of the readiest, most adroit and most frequently in demand. His verses might be heard sung to music by Bellini, Clapisson, Donizetti, Meyerbeer, Ferdinand Hiller, Halévy, Niedermeyer, Rossini, even Malibran herself, not to mention many others whose names no longer count, but who were famous in their own time, as for instance Pauline Duchambge, for whom Deschamps celebrated Kitty Bell and Chatterton in verse. The reputation he enjoyed in that respect by 1840 may be judged from a letter he received that year from an unknown young musician who led a rather miserable existence in Paris, but was to make some stir later on. Here it is:

Paris ce 28 sept. 1840.

Monsieur,

La grande complaisance avec laquelle vous avez bien voulu agréer ma prière de me faire quelques couplets me rend assez hardi pour vous prier de vous occuper le plus tôt possible de mon affaire, parce que Mr. Pillet veut m'accorder sous peu de jours une petite audience, où je voudrais lui faire entendre les couplets en question.

Agréer [sic], Monsieur, l'assurance de la plus haute considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être votre tout obligé serviteur.

Richard Wagner

25 rue du Helder.

The impatient tone is unmistakably in Wagner's manner. Amiability was in Deschamps's. We may well believe that he actually wrote these "couplets", but that Wagner was probably unsuccessful with them on approaching the publishers. To be candid, the loss cannot be very regrettable, for even if the song was actually composed, it is not difficult to imagine that it can hardly have been much better than those of the same period in Wagner's career which have been preserved, written to poems by Ronsard, Victor Hugo and others. Wagner had something better to do than to write songs, for 'The Flying Dutchman' was not far off.

Another note from Wagner found among Émile Deschamps's papers seems to show that the two had not limited themselves to epistolary intercourse: they certainly met, and the young German composer must have made a good enough impression on the French dilettante for the latter to think of entrusting him with the review of a book of songs by Mme. Molinos-Laffitte for the 'Gazette musicale', Schlesinger's journal. Many of these reviews were anonymous, and it is not known whether Wagner undertook a task that was hardly worthy of him, though not more unworthy than the arrangement of the vocal score of 'La Favorita'. In any case this note shows that Wagner did not impress Deschamps unfavourably, as he did Eugène Delacroix later on, when the painter met him at Mme. Marliani's.

If Wagner is absent from the list of Émile Deschamps's musical collaborators, it may well be said that any poem the latter might have offered him would probably not have suited the true nature of the future composer of 'Tristan', who was at that time still at the romantic stage of 'Rienzi', but had nothing to do with the anguished languors that were the foundation of the *romance*. It is true that Deschamps elevated the species by an eighteenth-century distinction and elegance and by a sometimes rich colour borrowed from the foreign ballads he knew so well. It is curious to find, though, that in his work of that kind few romances are to be found

inspired by English subjects, for all that he had a strong affection for that language and its poets, while Navarre, Spain, and above all Italy, from Venice to Naples, often furnished the framework for these sentimental effusions.

The interest he showed from the first, and in conjunction, for German music and German poetry induced him to give his attention to musical works that were far more worthy of it. It is pleasant to recall that he was the originator of one of the first French editions of Schubert songs, and he even thought highly enough of some of his translations to include about fifteen of them in his volume of poetry published in 1841. As early as 1834 an album of six songs by Schubert had appeared with translations by Bellanger, and five years later the publisher Brandus issued a book of sixteen translated by Émile Deschamps. Within a few years a taste for them had grown so much that in 1845 more than a hundred and fifty Schubert songs had appeared in French versions, more or less well done—rather less than more, indeed—and Deschamps's translations far surpass the rest in quality.

It is perhaps not superfluous to say here that Schubert's vogue in France at that time was due chiefly to the personal enthusiasm of the great singer Adolphe Nourrit, who went so far as to refuse to accept certain engagements except on condition that he should sing Schubert songs. One would like to see more of the great performers of the present day inspired by this intransigent spirit and ready to impose new and as yet unknown works on the public instead of truckling to its lack of curiosity and mental stagnation, as they generally do. Italian excepted, it was not the fashion in those days to sing songs in foreign languages, and Nourrit thus found in Émile Deschamps a useful helpmate in his work on behalf of Schubert's masterpieces.

The interest Deschamps never ceased to show in music, his facility in turning out elegant verses on the least of subjects, his unfailing readiness to be of service and the pleasantness of his character induced composers who found themselves in various difficulties to seek his aid very readily and with the certainty of being usefully served. Meyerbeer is an instance. Powerful as he had become at the Opéra after the triumphal success of 'Robert le Diable', he none the less came up against another force, which was not so much that of the directorate of the institution—which might change at any moment, as it had done in 1835 when Duponchel had managed to replace Dr. Véron—as that of the titular and accredited librettist, Eugène Scribe, without whom nothing was to be achieved and who guarded at the same time the access to the vaudeville and the operatic stages, whose undisputed purveyor he was.



The spirit of middle-class platitude of which Scribe was the incarnation—if indeed one may use the word spirit in this connection—exasperated Meyerbeer, who with all his faults undeniably had a certain sense of grandeur and cannot be reproached with æsthetic narrowness. A quarrel had threatened to break out more than once at the time of 'Robert le Diable' and relations became unbearably strained by the time it came to 'Les Huguenots', which Scribe had drawn—there could be no doubt—from Mérimée's remarkable 'Chronique de Charles IX'.

Deschamps had known Meyerbeer for several years: he had supplied him with poems for songs. Who knows these to-day? How many of us have ever heard 'Délire', 'Nella', 'Rachel à Nephtali' or 'Printemps caché', which were the delight of more than one drawing-room during the reign of Louis-Philippe? And there were others for which our dilettante had turned into a clever and melodious translator of Heine, Rückert and Müller, with far more certainty and with a more delicate musical sensibility than has been shown since by those who have translated the same poems for the settings by Schubert or Schumann.

Meyerbeer, who knew how to study his own interests, was not the man to neglect a writer who was valued everywhere and whose drawing-room in the Rue de la Ville-Léveque was frequented by the cream of fashionable and artistic circles. Scribe had surpassed even his own commonplaceness, if one may put it so, in the libretto of 'Les Huguenots'. The composer and his chief interpreters, Nourrit and Mlle. Falcon, therefore united their forces against a mediocrity so safely entrenched in his fastness of vanity, and at the request of the singers Meyerbeer asked Deschamps to rewrite the great scene in the fourth act, the whole part of Marcel, the page's air at the close of the first act, Valentine's romance in the fourth, Raoul's air during the ball in the fifth and the great trio in the latter. In order to spare Scribe's vanity and susceptibility it was decided that the collaboration should remain officially anonymous, which bears witness to Deschamps's amiable character, and Meyerbeer even generously took it upon himself to guarantee the discreet collaborator the author's rights that were his due. But all this soon became, as we say, a *secret de Polichinelle*; witness this charming note written to Deschamps by a successful author of the time, Alexandre Soumet:

La gloire de Scribe retentissait hier soir brutalement par le théâtre, cher ami, mais la vôtre courait toute mystérieuse de loge en loge, comme ces aveux d'amour qu'on ne fait qu'à l'oreille.

J'ai erré quelque temps dans les corridors de l'Opéra et vous

resembliez à ces amants magnifiques qui donnent tout à leur maîtresse excepté leur nom, parce qu'elle est mariée à un autre.

This rivalled the anonymous librettist himself in kindness and wit. The friendship between Meyerbeer and Deschamps, by the way, was not to be disturbed—in spite of George Moore's assertion that nothing is easier than to hate your collaborator—and shortly before Meyerbeer's death in 1864 they worked together once more at a 'Prière du matin'.

The favour Émile Deschamps enjoyed with composers is further attested by the choice made of several of his poems by one who is almost wholly forgotten to-day, but who had known his days of glory and took great care over the choice of poetry he set to music. Born on the Swiss shore of the Lake of Geneva, Louis Niedermeyer won sudden fame in 1825 by turning Lamartine's 'Le Lac' into a touching song. He several times reverted to the musical illustration of Lamartine's poetry, but without meeting with the same success, and he also drew on poems by Victor Hugo and Émile Deschamps. The latter, moreover, supplied him with the libretto for an opera, 'Stradella', which was produced at the Paris Opéra in 1837 with some success. The dramatic life of the Neapolitan composer and singer, in the picturesque settings of Venice and Rome, opened for the poet all the resources of an eventful and thrilling action and gave him the opportunity of displaying the keen passions of single personages as well as of groups of hired assassins and common folk. The framework was admirably suited to the trends of literary and pictorial romanticism, and it offered the scenic designers as well as the composer many chances to charm or transport the public.

Berlioz himself, in the 'Journal des Débats' of March 5th 1837, warmly praised the inspiration of an author who had conceived "a spectacle without its equal". One even read between the lines a note of regret that such a subject had not come his own way. It would certainly have contained more than one scene to Berlioz's taste. The gentle, melodious soul of Niedermeyer in no way resembled the volcanic one of the composer to whom we owe the 'Fantastic Symphony', and 'Stradella' did not rise above the qualities of a merely agreeable opera. Its composer inclined more and more towards religious music as he went on, and his ardent desire to see its true and purest traditions revived induced him to found a school of music in 1848 which was to bear his name and in the establishment of which Émile Deschamps was not without influence. It was at this school that Saint-Saëns became professor of the piano in 1861 and it was thence that Gabriel Fauré and

André Messager were to issue soon afterwards. Deschamps is thus indirectly concerned in the history of French music.

But there is a more immediate connection. Gentleness, balance and a conciliatory spirit would not at first sight appear to be qualities to tone in with the excessive exasperation and irrepressible irritability of Hector Berlioz; but apart from his natural indulgence and his readiness to accept the originality and the points of view of others, Émile Deschamps had another and doubly precious merit in Berlioz's eyes: his passionate veneration of Virgil and Shakespeare.

We may imagine that the poet and the composer must have met for the first time at Alfred de Vigny's, another outstanding Shakespearian. The part played by Shakespeare in Berlioz's life is well enough known. "O Goethe! O Shakespeare! expounders of my life!" he exclaimed one day, and it was in the glamour of and the enthusiasm engendered by Shakespearian performances in Paris that he fell in love with Harriet Smithson, whom he was to marry. As early as 1832 he had begun to think of a musical interpretation of 'Romeo and Juliet'. He had disclosed this plan to the poet Auguste Barbier and had asked him to write a libretto; but Barbier, who was very busy at that time, declined the suggestion. Berlioz was not the man to be dissuaded by a refusal, but it was not easy for him to find a collaborator. The dramatic conception that haunted him had nothing in common with that which Meyerbeer had successfully exploited in several operas and Rossini in 'William Tell': the scene on which the creatures of his dreams moved was incomparably more vast and less palpable than that which had been monopolized by the commercial genius of Eugène Scribe.

If Émile Deschamps was not capable of rising in his own work to a grandiose and tumultuous conception and expression, he had a keen enough feeling for poetry to appraise and even admire such qualities. He had been neither frightened nor puzzled by Berlioz's early works; on the contrary, he had been fascinated by their distinctly romantic character and had at once considered that composer the most valuable ally in the stand that was then made against academic classicism, in which Berlioz took part, not only with his musical work, but in his articles in the 'Rénovateur', the 'Gazette musicale' and the 'Journal des Débats'.

About 1834 Berlioz had been obsessed by the idea of basing a score on 'Hamlet', but he unhappily allowed himself to be distracted by the composition of 'Benvenuto Cellini', with which he may have hoped to compensate himself for 'Stradella'. But the opera failed in September 1838 and was withdrawn after three performances.

On December 16th following the famous Conservatoire concert took place at which Berlioz, after conducting 'Harold en Italie' and the 'Fantastic Symphony', suddenly found himself in the presence of Paganini, who was on his knees before him. The following day he received from the "infernally virtuoso" a cheque for twenty thousand francs. In the midst of ever-recurring difficulties, failures and debts this meant the relief of a few months of peace, of the tranquillity he needed for the accomplishment of an important new work; and this work was to be 'Roméo et Juliette, symphonie dramatique avec solos de chant et Prologue en récitatif harmonique, composée d'après la tragédie de Shakespeare'. He wrote himself in his *Memoirs* (Vol. I, p. 340):

J'écrivis en prose tout le texte destiné au chant entre les morceaux de musique instrumentale. Émile Deschamps, avec sa charmante obligeance ordinaire et sa facilité extraordinaire, le mit en vers et je commençai.

The months of January to September 1839 were devoted to the completion of this work, and that Deschamps's collaboration gave him nothing but satisfaction is proved by the following note:

Mon cher Deschamps,

C'est excellent, charmant, et la musique va à merveille là-dessus. Mon Dieu! quel bonheur de composer avec vous! J'ai fait deux petits changements dans la mélodie du second couplet en ajoutant un contrechant de violoncelle qui dialogue avec la voix; je crois que le morceau y gagne.

Quand ferons-nous un opéra ensemble? . . . Si nous faisons un opéra de genre pour Marié et Mlle. Rossi ou Madame Emmanuel Garcia, qui va débiter et dont le talent est aussi beau que la voix est admirable? Qu'en dites-vous? En attendant, vivent Roméo et Juliette!!! Occupons-nous d'eux.

H. Berlioz.

This time Berlioz's work was to earn a genuine success. There is no doubt that the music had a greater share in this than Deschamps's verses, which nowadays seem to come at times nearer to the insipid *romances* of the 1830s than to Shakespeare's poetic imagination; but at least they adroitly lent the composer an extremely pliable support, and it may be said with Théophile Gautier, who wrote in his *feuilleton* in 'La Presse' of November 11th 1839, that

M. Émile Deschamps, homme de beaucoup d'esprit et poète distingué, a relevé de jolies fleurs poétiques la trame du canevas musical et satisfait heureusement les doubles exigences de la poésie et de la musique.

In his goodness of heart Deschamps could rejoice in the incontestable success of this dramatic symphony, though it could



not have been without an admixture of melancholy if he thought of his complete translation of 'Romeo and Juliet', which had been received by the Comédie-Française thirteen years ago, but was never performed there, nor later at the Odéon, where he had for a moment hoped to see it staged. Later, in 1848, when his translation of 'Hamlet' had enjoyed a great success at that theatre, he again entertained the hope of seeing his 'Romeo' performed and of taking advantage of Berlioz and his influence to produce his music with Shakespeare's play; but from Baden-Baden, where he was conducting his 'Damnation of Faust', Berlioz wrote to point out, very properly, the time required by a performance of the symphony alone and the considerable extra expense in which it would involve a theatrical management:

La musique n'a point de place dans le drame de Shakespeare et ma partition dure deux heures. Cet ouvrage a d'ailleurs été composé dans une intention tout autre et ne pourrait s'introduire dans l'action Shakespearienne.

It was left for Gounod in 1867 to take up 'Romeo' again as an operatic subject, treated by Steibelt and by Zingarelli three quarters of a century ago, and later by Vaccai and Bellini. Émile Deschamps nevertheless continued to pursue his object, but found himself confronted with so many difficulties that he gave it up and hastened to tell Berlioz of his defeat. On October 31st Berlioz answered him in a letter that is, for him, surprisingly serene, but no doubt shows a reflection of Deschamps's own generous and gentle soul:

Eh ! bien donc, si vous le voulez, désolons-nous ensemble. Oui, c'eût peut-être été beau. Mais aussi peut-être la musique eût-elle semblé indiscreète en prenant une aussi large part dans la représentation de votre poème. Elle n'y est pas impérieusement appelée, et je craignais, je l'avoue, que mes longs morceaux symphoniques produisissent sur l'auditoire l'effet de longues pièces de vers récitées dans un concert entre les diverses parties d'une symphonie.

Throughout the vicissitudes of the great musician's stormy life the personality and the friendship of Émile Deschamps remained like an oasis of gentleness and goodness, even when the latter had retired to Versailles and his precarious health no longer allowed him to join personally in the artistic activities of his time. In his letters to Deschamps, Berlioz told him of 'Les Troyens', at which he worked without expecting any return from the public; elsewhere he asked him to write three verses in the manner of the eighteenth century to finish a song he had composed in his youth and of which only a single verse had remained; he also informed him of the piano score Théodore Ritter had made of 'Romeo and Juliet',

which was to be played by that artist before a small gathering at Pleyel's :

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 . . . Il y a vingt et un ans que nous avons chanté Juliette et Roméo,  
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Heartfelt notes sent on the occasion of bereavements or artistic successes testify to the lively admiration Émile Deschamps had for the composer as well as to the latter's affectionate attachment. We know too well how little experience Berlioz had of ardent and faithful friendship all his life not to reserve this manifestation of it a place all to itself for its constancy and warmth.

Deschamps's mode of life and peculiarities of talent naturally brought about a greater number of collaborations of less gravity than those in 'Les Huguenots' and in 'Romeo and Juliet' required. For the rest, in spite of his Shakespeare translations, he had little taste for the theatre and ventured into that domain only when he was entreated to do so. He did write the libretto for a comic opera by Amédée de Beauplan, 'Le Mari au bal', produced in 1845, and the words for a cantata, 'Loyse de Montfort', by Bazin, the fluent composer of 'Le Voyage en Chine', and he seems to have sketched other libretti, such as that of an 'Ange serviteur' for Meyerbeer, and to have thought about basing one on Shakespeare's 'Hamlet'; but things like these last two did not go beyond mere drafts.

It must not be thought, however, that he liked nothing but drawing-room music : he frequently went to the Conservatoire concerts, he was on terms of friendship with Liszt and Chopin, and in his writings he often chose Pergolesi, Cimarosa and Beethoven as terms for comparison. In one of his stories, 'Mea culpa', he suddenly makes an allusion to Gluck's 'Armide', which his contemporaries had completely forgotten, and he set Bellini far above Donizetti. In 1835 he made a list of his musical preferences :

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It is hard to see anyone, even among musicians, who seventy years ago could have drawn up a list which as a whole gives so little opening for criticism to the most discerning connoisseurs of to-day.

<sup>(1)</sup> 'Œuvres complètes', Vol. IV, p. 27.

It is much to be regretted that, unlike Eugène Delacroix, Émile Deschamps kept no diary. We could have followed not only the course of a long life, but the evolution of a musical amateur's tastes from Mozart to Beethoven, from Bellini to Wagner, during a period that was particularly flourishing in music. It is not possible, as it is with the aid of the 'Journal de Delacroix', to follow his movements, his resistances, his enthusiasms, hesitations and recognitions—and more's the pity. But to keep such a journal a man must have, like Delacroix, a taste at once for the world and for solitude; he must have observed much and weighed his recollections carefully. Émile Deschamps had no taste for retirement, and even when blindness made it almost a necessity he still had so much charm and grace and such a desire to please that a circle formed itself round him daily in his retreat at Versailles. To the last years of his life young poets would come to bring him the tribute of their affection and musicians continued to give some spiritual sustenance to a delightful old man who had loved music so much and still loved it passionately. With more than usual pleasure he received a young girl of Irish descent, Augusta Holmes, who also had her home at Versailles. She was then taking her first steps as a pianist, singer and composer, and added to all this she was a passionate Wagnerian. After a visit to Munich she brought back news to him of the success and glory of the young starveling he had known in 1840. Émile Deschamps had lost nothing, given up no attribute of the romantic dilettante he had been; but among the writers throughout the nineteenth century there are few whose pens drew such words as we may read in the last volume of his works:

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## THE CRAFTSMANSHIP OF BACH'S CHORAL MUSIC

By A. E. F. DICKINSON

In the treasuries of art, pedestals and glass cases have their obvious uses, but they are often distracting when it comes to sifting things of lasting value from the historically significant. Pedestals arouse an irrational reverence or (among those less trained to respond to the finger of authority) irreverence. Glass cases proclaim that which should not be touched and need not be considered further. In the preservation of music, by performance, practical editorship or verbal comment, pedestals are common enough, rising from the moderate elevations of a Morley and a Moussorgsky to the monuments on which stand the figures of the three Bs and their somewhat chance company, undisturbed by the most violent and sincere efforts to point to cracks and crumbling. Performers claim their pedestals, too, to the distortion of a composer's real size in the opposite direction. Glass cases, again, are common in connection with music which exists in the written page rather than in the aural sensibilities of modern audiences. The general inference is that if a work by a well-known composer is too difficult or uncongenial to perform, it must be exceedingly good or exceedingly bad of its kind and can safely be commended or ignored without further discrimination.

The art of J. S. Bach has of late been obscured in this country by an excessive use of pedestals. The ritual performances of the B minor Mass and the Passions, the regular fortnightly measure of Bach in the Promenade season, the stream of Bach volumes for young pianists, indicate the all-devouring taste of the minority who constitute our musical public. This almost fanatical outlook receives every assistance from writers who point confidently to Bach's technical mastery, transcendent qualities of musical thought or sheer dialectic power. He was old-fashioned, they tell us, but he was fundamentally sound and nearly always right (but "nearly" in a tone of apology for such carping). The Bach cantatas are in a different social position. They were elevated for a little time on the pedestal of B.B.C. Sunday observance, but in spite of a



comprehensive use of this weekly occasion and the often long-standing efforts of various Bach societies and Bach men in London and the country, it is safe to regard the cantatas as still lying normally in glass cases, known chiefly through the writings and talks of devoted scholars. Most of these have so much to explain about this temperamentally remote and instrumentally unfashionable or obsolete music that they find little need, it seems, to distinguish the sublime from the practical.

Yet the genuinely religious tone, structural strength, amazing fugal eloquence, marked instrumental variety and consistent methods of Bach's choral music should not leave us either unobservant of the practical atmosphere in which it was written or too ready to refer to Bach's æsthetic intuition, "beyond our question", details of procedure which were rather the product of a crafty routine. To supply music for the various needs of relations, pupils, patrons and, most of all, the worship of God in church, became the ground-plan of Bach's life, and while certain occasions evidently interested him more than others, his most constant quality was the consistency with which he worked out or adapted one scheme or another. This enormous output, beginning with over two hundred cantatas (with the possibility of another hundred lost), is not the natural product of a man who writes from inner necessity. Moreover, we know with some certainty that the prophetic conception of the composer-at-large did not crystallize till the time of Beethoven, and that Bach never entertained it. His heated correspondence with his school council at Leipzig, for instance, reveals the pride of the teacher and music organizer, not of the artist; and it was rarely that he bothered about publication. Let us remove pedestals and glass cases and consider afresh some first impressions of the choral music, without any prejudice in favour of its literal inspiration. To do so may lower the intensity of appeal in several instances, but it leaves a much more human and intelligible record as a whole and makes the higher spontaneity of certain works far more convincing.

Let us take first the choice of words. Their general trend was fixed for a particular Sunday or "holy" day: the function of a cantata in the Lutheran service was to meditate on the gospel for the day, and the purpose of a Passion or Mass is apparent. Early in his career Bach accepted from Neumeister, a clergyman who had issued a collection of "poems" to cover the whole Christian year, the division of the weekly meditation into separate numbers. Thereafter Bach halted between a modern libretto compiled or adapted on these lines, a set of verses from the Lutheran hymn-book and a mixture of the two. He often turned to the chorale-book or

to a stray phrase from the Bible, but he accepted as readily (it seems) the utmost depths of doggerel and Uriah-like sentiments. Like Schubert, he could not easily do better—he had no time—and he relied on his own peculiar eloquence to illuminate the often ponderous thought acceptable to the didactic occasion. This eloquence depended chiefly on the expansion of a key-word in a verse or line. In the secular cantatas that he wrote for the birthdays, weddings and accessions of various dignitaries he was even more at the mercy of the librettist. Here, if there was no picture or metaphor to illustrate, he made the best of a vaguely cheerful occasion. If the words were tediously unsuggestive, he adapted music which had been written to a more fertile libretto; the claims of natural declamation did not worry him overmuch.

In casting his words into a musical scheme Bach was singularly stereotyped. In about three quarters of the church cantatas he began with a chorus, which usually carried the main point of the Gospel aspect selected for treatment. Then came one or more recitatives and arias on the Italian plan. Finally, a chorale (rarely omitted), usually plainly set. In the remaining quarter of the cantatas—the “solo” cantatas—there was no opening chorus. Sometimes an instrumental movement was substituted. Otherwise the sequence was unaltered. Although Bach had developed a continuous musical narrative in his early cantata ‘Gottes Zeit’ (106), he soon gave up the idea in favour of a suite of separate movements. Hence the tendency to open with a grand choral movement, like the preludes to the “English” keyboard suites, and to balance this with the simple solemnity of a chorale-verse, in which the congregation, who had printed sheets (a custom instituted by Bach’s predecessor, Schelle), might join in spirit, if not in fact. And hence the freshness and superior dramatic finesse of a cantata where the chorus is reserved for a middle number (apart from the final chorale), as in ‘Du wahrer Gott’ (23), ‘Himmelskönig’ (182), ‘Gottlob! nun geht das Jahr’ (28), ‘Es ist euch gut’ (108) and ‘Gott, man lobet dich’ (120); or where the choral lines punctuate or are punctuated by solo-recitative (plain or *arioso*), as in ‘Gleich wie der Regen’ (18), ‘Herr, wie du willst’ (73), ‘Wer weiss wie nahe mir mein Ende’ (27), ‘Ihr werdet weinen’ (103) and the intimate dramatic interludes of the Passions in which the soloists speak from the centre of the situation, the chorus from a more detached point. Even an instrumental prelude is something of a relief, though its general reservation for the solo cantatas and common adaptation from a concerto movement show that Bach thought of it as a “token” for the grand west front of his standard choral

buildings, necessary but not to be taken too seriously. The mature cantata 'Christus, der ist mein Leben' (95) is thus remarkable in opening with a continuous succession of chorale movement, tenor solo and fresh chorale movement. It seems likely that some practical, non-musical reason deterred Bach from working out such a fine appositeness more often. Certainly the more riveting unity of the Kyrie, Gloria and Credo of the B minor Mass is very reassuring after the loose architecture of the cantatas. There, it may be noted, the chorus dominates the situation throughout.

Accepting the expediency without further cavil, we are left with nearly 150 detached and most commonly opening choruses. About half of these have a chorale basis of some kind. The non-chorale choruses combine with considerable regularity an instrumental refrain suggested by a key-word in the text, declamatory phrases in a polyphonic or rhythmically unisonal style, and fugue, with sometimes a generous repeat of the opening refrain or choral section or both. Nor does the instrumentation vary considerably from the normal strings, oboes and organ of the Sunday orchestra, with occasionally flutes, and trumpets and drums for festive periods. It is harder, I suggest, to recall distinctly ten such choruses than ten Beethoven first movements, while allowing for the prevalence of the latter in our common aural fare. The variety of feeling, within a certain circumference of spiritual drama, is indisputable enough to show that Bach did not feel his formulas a check on his freedom; and it is not hard to quote cantatas which open with supreme and entirely dissimilar choruses constructed on these established lines: 'Du Hirte Israel' (104), 'Wachet, betet' (70), 'Sie werden aus Saba' (65), 'Schauet doch' (46), 'Bringet dem Herrn' (148), 'Herr, deine Augen' (102), 'Wer Dank opfert' (17). This also leaves out of account the richer and more complex structures of the B minor Mass choruses and the concise dramatic outbursts of the Passions. It can still be maintained, however, that musically this output represents a series of regular and compulsory exercises of which a selection finds vital material and treatment under the stress of some verbal suggestion, inner current of feeling or possibly sheer technical experience. The remainder may well be put back in their glass case, illuminating examples of this and that to students of composition, but scarcely of interest to seekers after art. It is a difficult selection to make, but until the "nerve to reject" (beyond the Philistinism of ignorance) has been allowed to express itself, in such issues taste in Bach will remain taste, not judgment.<sup>(1)</sup>

<sup>(1)</sup> The same cannot be said of the mature symphonies of Haydn and the rest, for their use of sonata form, variation and other ground-plans is far more adventurous and unpredictable.

Bach's chorale choruses are even more affairs of routine. The successive lines of a chorale are the climax of vocal polyphony and commonly of instrumental development (the "motet" choruses being the chief exception), and they may be the material basis of either of these preliminaries as well. How came Bach to be so content with such a consistent setting of tunes that were not his own? In the first place, they were not, as they are to the casual listener of to-day, just tunes. They were the natural expression of vital emotions, through the accepted associations of a strong religious tradition in music and of a particular chorale verse. Time and again Bach made two such verses the framework of the weekly cantata ("chorale cantata"), the solo numbers being set to other verses or to paraphrases. The chorale style was more akin to his nature than the versatile but trite verse of Picander, the librettist for the St. Matthew Passion and Bach's most constant literary companion. Further, many instances indicate that Bach held several general concepts in solution, which he was able to crystallize from some suggestion in the text in appropriate chorale verses, for his knowledge of the Lutheran hymn-book was profound; and when such a concept predominated, he made a chorale cantata out of it. For example, 'Mit Fried und Freud' (125), the German version of 'Nunc dimittis', occurred to him, not only for its actual occurrence in the gospel for the "Purification", for which day he wrote a chorale cantata and an organ prelude on that hymn, but also for the Sunday whose gospel tells the story of the widow's son at Nain. (It is significant that in all his four cantatas for this Sunday Bach dwells on the serenity of Christian dying, not on Christ's conquest of death.) In the latter instance 'Mit Fried' is one of the four verses from different chorales which Bach set in 'Christus, der ist mein Leben' (95). He had already introduced the hymn in a more indirect fashion in 'Gottes Zeit', which appears to have been for a funeral. Similarly, gospels which contain a verse to the effect "Let God's will be done" suggested the chorales 'Was mein Gott will' and 'Was Gott tut': Bach used the former in two chorale cantatas, 'Was mein Gott will' (111) and 'Ich hab' in Gottes Herz' (92), as well as in a number of plain settings, and the other chorale supplies the main material and title to two chorale cantatas (99 and 100) and the opening chorale chorus of a third (98), besides many plain settings. In a more remarkable way 'Du Friedefürst' unites the chorale cantata of that title (116) and the closing chorale chorus of 'Lobe den Herrn' (143), respectively written during and after a time of war, and also the plain conclusion of 'Halt' im Gedächtniss' (67), which concerns Christ's "peace be unto you".



This train of associations could be extended. In other instances a chorale is made the basis of a cantata or chorus, and frequently recurs elsewhere in a plain setting, for no apparent ground which may be discovered in the gospel text, and therefore, perhaps, because Bach was fond of it. He was not one to take a chorale for granted: he chose it for what it meant to him, in word and tone.

Such were the constant preliminary promptings to use a chorale tune and verse as the *Leitmotiv* for the weekly cantata. What of the musical possibilities? It must be admitted that the choruses in which the voices simply take up each line in turn, in the style of the old motets, have a strong family resemblance and were not much trouble to write. It may also be inferred that these choruses were intended for double use, for the cantata and for the motet of the week. In other words, their form was dictated partly by external considerations. One can but admire the austere dignity and splendidly unlaboured fugal texture of these choruses, but perhaps Bach was not carried away by this kind of line-by-line process until florid treatment, with the plain chorale phrases in long notes and in close canon (trumpet and organ pedal trombone) to clinch each stage, inspired the opening of 'Ein' feste Burg' (80), the great rallying-point of Christians who are not afraid to stand alone.

Most of the chorale choruses have an independent and revealing instrumental development, and often the voice parts, other than the chorale-bearing one, move freely and characteristically. Sometimes a particular rhythm or melodic curve illustrates the general sense or a special word or metaphor. The prevalence in the cantatas of certain turns of rhythm and melody in certain verbal contexts attests Bach's more or less consistent resort to word-painting as his starting-point (less consistent in my judgment than Schweitzer would have us believe, but consistent enough to have established many firm precedents for a dramatic or descriptive reading of Bach's *first* intentions). Thus the uniformity is more of method than of expression. Compare the varying atmosphere of the choruses in 'Es ist das Heil' (9), 'Meine Seele erhebt' (10) and 'Du Friede-fürst' (116)—cheerfully expansive, tense and serene respectively. Note also the special treatment of certain phrases of the basic chorale in cantatas such as 'Mit Fried und Freud' (125) and 'Mache dich, mein Geist, bereit' (115), the many expressive chromatic turns in 'Jesu, der du meine Seele' (78), the dramatic and less stereotyped plan of 'Jesu, nun sei gepreiset' (41), and the changing course promoted by the ceaseless creative urge of 'Wachet auf' (140) and the opening of the St. Matthew Passion. Bach seems to have been conscious of the dangers of a formula, and

often spared no pains to place his chorale tune in a distinctive context. But once more he cannot have expected to do this over seventy times. In the majority of cases these choruses remain resourceful *settings* of appropriate chorale verses and must be accepted as such, not as wholly original music. They are magnificently in keeping, for they make the Lutheran listener (in imagination, if not in fact) treasure the otherwise too familiar things of his heritage, but their appeal is primarily artistic only in part. The Credo and "Confiteor" of the B minor Mass, where the traditional basis is not allowed to become an obsession, are rather striking contrasts. In the Credo the old Credo "tone" is treated so concisely and in such a variety of ways that there is no sense of a formula being worked out. In "Confiteor" the appropriate tone is no more than a reinforcement of self-contained fugue on other subjects. In 'Meine Seele erhebt' (10) the Magnificat tone is similarly absorbed in a wider thematic growth which is far from exhausted at the end of the twice-declamed tone. To a lesser extent the four short phrases of the Old Hundredth (as we should call it) help the unfettered development of the "St. Michael" motif in 'Herr Gott, dich loben alle wir' (130). In the opening of 'Es ist nichts Gesundes' (25) Bach avoids triteness by assigning chorale phrases to wind only, leaving the chorus free to express original ideas.

The plain chorales which pervade the cantatas are frankly for communal rendering or appreciation. (Those whose phrases are separate and blended with instrumental development, as in "Jesu, joy of man's desiring" [cantata 147], are unusually straightforward examples of the line-by-line treatment and may be placed with the choruses just discussed. They are often beautiful settings. Their almost Handelian simplicity of outline has a more spontaneous ring than most of the more elaborate chorale-fantasias. The middle verse of "Sleepers, wake" has endeared Bach to the many as few other pieces have done.) These four or five-part harmonizations end a cantata with the confidence of tradition, like a perfect cadence. They are wonderfully relevant, grateful and interesting to sing in their simple style, and notably resonant to hear, but musically they usually lack point except as a returning refrain in a chorale cantata (cf. the end of any Wagner opera). Only in the Passions and Christmas Oratorio can these chorales be said to be the best possible way of fulfilling a given musical design. One recalls at once here the introduction of the "Passion" chorale near the beginning of the Oratorio and amongst other places towards the end of the St. Matthew Passion. With a fine restraint the chorale underlines in the first case the humility with which a Christian contemplates

the coming of Christ on earth, and in the second the challenge to face death in unity of spirit with Christ. In dramatic contrast "Break forth", the first chorale of cantata 2 of the Oratorio, celebrates the revelation to the shepherds of a new redemption from the common fears of mankind. In the average cantata, and indeed in the more casual instances in the Oratorio and Passions, these chorales make the best of a growing church custom, sometimes by an exultant violin descant.

How far certain cantata choruses were only first thoughts is apparent in the B minor Mass. Bach was not in a hurry when he wrote the Gloria there. The derivation from earlier work of both middle choruses, "Gratias" and "Qui tollis", is significant, especially the composition of the latter by compressing the already fine 'Schauet doch' (46)—omitting the initial refrain and final fugue—and by re-pointing its melodic outline and derived harmony. (The first and last choruses of the Gloria coincide largely with those of the cantata 'Gloria in excelsis' (191), but here the cantata shows many signs of having been the derived work and to have been itself the hurried compilation.) The last chorus of the Gloria is very probably adapted from an unknown earlier work, as Sir Donald Tovey conjectures. The process of revision and transference to a new context justified itself, and when Bach passed to the Credo he re-wrote old choruses for his setting of "Patrem omnipotentem", "Crucifixus" and even the final "Et expecto". By the deliberate pursuit of this re-creative method his thought was able to leap from the ordinary weekly cantata to a more concentrated expression of his personality. He was more inspired in the Mass, you may say. Yes, in the end. He allowed time for the first impulse (from wide professional experience and superlative architectural gifts) to grow to its full stature.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the other masses, too, Bach adapted cantata-numbers more often than not, but now with a brusque or even defiant attitude to the change of words involved and only small alterations of musical detail. A strong case may be made for declaring the originals to have been as good or better. Here the cantatas were Bach's best thoughts, the masses the hasty compilation, executed for a purpose which remains obscure, for they are too long as music for a Lutheran mass and liturgically incomplete for the Catholic chapel at the Dresden court for which they may have been intended. What is certain is that they were pieces of musical jobbery of which no artist could be proud. Similar comment may be passed on the use

<sup>(2)</sup> It is notable that Beethoven similarly expanded an earlier work in the finale of the third Symphony and elsewhere, and constantly incorporated earlier sketches.

of numbers from the secular cantatas, many of them eminently appropriate to their original dramatic context, in the Christmas Oratorio and in secular cantatas with fresh words.

The parallel adaptations of the solo parts of concertos from violin or wind to keyboard equally show a "method" peculiar to Bach, amongst creative artists in the same sphere, and one not to be accepted as a good thing because Bach adopted it, still less as a precedent for modern rearrangements of Bach or anyone else.<sup>(1)</sup> It was the expedient of a man in a hurry to pass on to other things, and it was frequently accompanied by an amazing bluntness in the wholesale transference from string to keyboard. Even thorough transformations like the development of the middle movement of the D minor clavier Concerto into the rich opening chorus of 'Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal' (146) are pieces of skilful writing-over whose alien origin betrays itself to anyone acquainted with Bach's consistent adoption of instrumental refrain or vocal fugue as his starting-point. (Any chorus other than fugues, which begins at once with choral harmony may be suspected of being an adaptation. Even the opening of the B minor Mass was anticipated in the Funeral Ode, and there are corroborative introductions, added to old choruses, in the other masses.)

Adaptation also figures in the arias which occupy the chief middle space of the choral works and the bulk of the solo cantatas. *Airs* from a hunting cantata reappear in 'Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt' (68). In one a tribute to Pan is blandly reworded for the Christian occasion; the other has been vitally revised and expanded for "My heart ever faithful". Either type could be paralleled further. Both warn us against taking the "sacred" arias unquestioningly as religious meditations, specially composed for their Sunday text. As a whole the arias fall into three classes: the Italian, vocally tuneful arias in exact or modified A.B.A shape; the concerto-like pieces for solo voice and instruments where the free and discursive movement of the voice over an often extensive verbal ground, usually ending in a digression, is brought within the general orbit by the varying returns of an instrumental refrain, which finally reappears exactly as at first; and the arias based on chorales, or with a chorale as one part in a duet or trio. Once more, in spite of live and varied material, particularly on the instrumental side, a routine impression cannot be resisted in reviewing each class. There are a sorry number in the first class where the sign for a mechanical repeat (A.B.-A)

<sup>(1)</sup> We may ignore Beethoven's arrangement of the solo part of his violin Concerto for piano as an aberration in extraordinary circumstances (some special request). Certainly it is quite indefensible aesthetically.



so defies any sense of proportion that it reads as a blunt device for saving the trouble of fresh restatement. Here, if anywhere, too much ruins a good thing. The fruits of taking greater pains in this matter appear again in the B minor Mass and in other less familiar examples, which stretch from the intimate Teutonic duet in the early 'Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis' (21) and are numerous enough to indict the vain recapitulations of the majority. The workaday background remains, as in Handel's operas and oratorios.

The repetitions in the second class are brief and far more palatable. Yet on any wide survey a feeling of formality impresses itself in these constant last-moment returns to the original route. Once more the Mass is revealing. The melodic and harmonic freshness of the final refrain of the Agnus Dei completes Bach's most telling revision of an earlier aria. And in "Domine Deus" the development of an air with instrumental repeat (it appears in this simpler version in the parallel number in the cantata 'Gloria in excelsis') into an extended A.B air leading straight into the choral "Qui tollis" is most arresting. Almost as striking is the end of "Et in unum", especially in its revised version. After discursive treatment of the plain theme in three well-defined stages, the instruments "begin again" in the original key, but the voices at once lead the music into new, unhinted directions and the instrumental finish is exquisite. This was originally to the words "Et incarnatus est. . .". But after writing four bars of the choral "Crucifixus" Bach stopped to think (at the end of his economical page). He decided that "Et incarnatus est" was too significant to be incorporated in the aria, whereas the music already written for these words was just the eventful restatement he needed to prepare for the special choral setting which he now sought for "Et incarnatus est". The preceding words, "Qui propter nos homines . . .", fitted this preparatory finale well, and as a corollary the earlier words were spaced out and reset to some extent. It is worth further notice that in "Et in spiritum sanctum", another air leading to a vital chorus, the concluding section is substantially new. When Bach had intimations of profound choral expression ahead, he gave special point to the preceding aria.

There remains the chorale aria, a singular meeting-place of contrasted strands of musical history. Some examples are just chorale settings, subject to the same general criticism as the choral instances—dramatic and appropriate without being very far-reaching as music. But where the chorale is mainly a reinforcement of an independent musical development, Bach's thought is often fertile and original. There is an intimate example in 'Sehet wir

geh'n' (159). Most often the non-chorale part is in the freer *arioso* style, with the chorale (vocal or, most effectively, instrumental) as ballast. This style is an advance from the dry and didactic recitative which fills all the odd corners of the cantatas and Passions to rhythmic declamation, usually with characteristic instrumental background. It appears in certain middle sections of various arias of the non-chorale class, and in separate interludes. We thus pass to one of Bach's happiest turns of musical speech. With it he epitomized in a remarkable way certain moments in the spiritual crises that the cantatas concern. By means of it Wagner reformed opera. Prevalent in the early and less stylized 'Gottes Zeit' (106), the *arioso* manner vindicated itself once and for all in the remarkable "Behold I stand at the door and knock" of the slightly later 'Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland' (61), and almost every adoption of it is apt and musically rare and satisfying. That Bach was himself impressed by its plastic expressiveness is shown in its frequent occurrence, as a prelude to an aria, in the St. Matthew Passion, as opposed to the earlier St. John Passion. The gospel narrative, itself not without illustrative motives, thus passes as naturally as could be to the more consistently musical style of the *arioso* reflection and so to the formal expansions of aria. But perhaps Bach is most moved when he breaks into *arioso*, as in the penultimate chorus of the St. Matthew Passion (solo recitative and choral *arioso* alternately), the middle chorus of 'Gottes Zeit' (A.T.B. fugue and treble *arioso*), the bass instance in 'Jesu, der du meine Seele' (78) and the "And thou, Bethlehem" of the fifth part of the Christmas Oratorio. The special endings of the already discussed "Domine Deus" and "Et in unum" (Mass in B minor) are distinguished by a complementary transition from sustained aria to a freer declamation, such as commonly occurs in an interlude of an aria. This is the Bach to whom one may pardonably erect at least a plaque to record his sense of the concise and characteristic.

Concerto movements (new or old), choral declamation and fugue, the elaborate or plain setting of a well-defined chorale verse, stylized arias in the Italian or Teutonic manner, plain recitative, *arioso* excursions—these were the constant frames of Bach's approaches to his weekly (or on the average monthly) task. That he frequently evaded the artistic issues in hasty adaptations or the execution of formulas with a Teutonic delight in the obvious has to be placed beside his power of transcending the routine atmosphere of that age of craftsmen who were not expected to be seers. But if the composer of the B minor Mass and other less belauded but imperishable choral works was at times dull or blunt-witted to a degree, he never

debased vocal music. That he did not do so in the atmosphere of Leipzig, in the course of a constant output, has been, along with a variety of positive qualities, an inspiration to later workers. There is now no chance of purity of style and intensity of expression in English church music, for instance, being hidden in a glass case. In the heyday of Gounod's influence in the Anglican church, it was from Bach, first and foremost, that Parry took his cue, and his successors have on the whole maintained a tradition of diligent search for the artistically right and seemly, without affecting the German earnestness and gloom. This essential truthfulness gleams from the dullest pages of Bach's music and where the form matches the inner feeling throws a beacon-light to hearten all those who wander on the dark hills above the valleys of popular esteem.

## MAURICE EMMANUEL (1862-1938)

By H. F. STEWART

THE world at large, the world of music in particular, have suffered grievous loss by the death last December of Maurice Emmanuel; the world because he was one of the best of men, *un homme exquis*; music because of his learning, his teaching, and his quality as composer. The learning appears in two historical volumes of first-rate value: 'L'Orchestre grecque' (for which he studied not only figures on Greek vases but the action of the modern *ballerina*) and 'Histoire de la langue musicale'; a long article on Greco-Roman art in Lavignac's 'Encyclopédie de la musique'; a 'Traité de l'accompagnement modal des psaumes'; and contributions to various journals. The teaching lives in the mind and practice of devoted pupils who sat at his feet for thirty years while he was professor at the Conservatoire (1907-1936). All this literary and educational effort, coupled with heavy administrative labour, left little opportunity for the exercise of his creative gift; but between whiles he managed to produce works of great beauty and originality in almost all the branches of his art—chamber music, orchestral music, and music for the stage.

He was a Burgundian by birth (Bar-le-Duc, May 2nd 1862), though a Parisian by domicile (with a lovely country house in the forest of Louviers), and he was deeply attached to his glorious province. Witness his collection of thirty Burgundian folksongs, in the introduction to which he tells a story against himself, illustrative of his character, his honesty, and his disarming simplicity. The story is briefly as follows. M. Charles Bigorne, a fellow-countryman and an antiquary of repute, had collected a number of vintage-songs (published in 1891 under the title of 'Patois et locutions du pays de Beaune'), which as early as 1882 he used to sing to Emmanuel, who took them down according to the harmony of the day in modern major and minor keys. When he repeated them to Bigorne, who although not a professional musician had a retentive memory and an accurate ear, Bigorne protested violently against the sharps and flats with which the young student had, he maintained, deformed the original melodies. The result was a



certain coolness between the two men. But by the time the book appeared in 1891 Emmanuel's eyes and ears had been opened to the magic of the modes by his master at the Conservatoire, Bourgault-Ducoudray. He saw that Bigorne was right and himself wrong, and he hastened to confess his error. The breach was healed, but Bigorne did not live to see the songs which had caused it in their proper dress. Six years after his death, *i.e.* in 1917, Emmanuel published *chez* Durand the 'Trente Chansons bourguignonnes du pays de Beaune, précédées d'une étude historique' in which he made *amende honorable* to his old friend, set out the songs as Bigorne knew them, and furnished them with appropriate and delightful accompaniments and a commentary. The introduction which tells all this is, however, much more than anecdotal and is full of the most varied information. In fact, if any one wishes to know what the modes are and to taste their survival in French folksong, he cannot do better than consult this enchanting volume. It should be added that subsequently Emmanuel orchestrated fifteen of the songs, which have often been performed with marked success in Paris and elsewhere.

Emmanuel's modal work is of the highest importance. Once he saw the light he never looked back. As Charles Kœchlin wrote the other day in 'Le monde musical': "Il usait des modes par goût, par instinct naturel; *il pensait modal*. De là chez lui l'union intime entre le moyen et l'idée; de là, cette musique à la fois modale et vivante, ancienne et moderne, traditionnelle et originale"; in a word he played a chief part in the revolt against the tyranny of the *mode d'ut* and in reasserting the value and beauty and variety of the old Greek scales.

But Emmanuel was much more than a musical antiquary and scholar. He was a creative genius of high order. Of his chamber music perhaps the most moving is the Trio for piano, flute, and clarinet which together with a selection of the 'Chansons bourguignonnes' will, I hope, be heard some time in the near future by B.B.C. listeners. There are besides two string Quartets, six piano Sonatas, a violin and a cello Sonata, three 'Odelettes anacréontiques' for voice, flute, and piano (also scored for orchestra). His orchestral work proper consists of three Overtures and two Symphonies, while for the stage he wrote, amongst other things, 'Prométhée enchaîné' (3 acts), 'Amphitryon' (1 act) and a full-dress opera, 'Salamine', founded on the 'Persae' of Aeschylus, the text being supplied by Théodore Reinach. This was performed at the Paris Opéra in 1930. Circumstances which I have never been able to understand prevented a "run" or a revival; but

there is no question that it was a great artistic success and that it deserves further hearing, especially at a time like the present when the warning against "hybris" and the attempt at world-domination conveyed by the 'Persae' is so profoundly needed. A ballet was on the stocks, but sickness forbade its completion. Apropos of 'Salamine' and its brief career I am irresistibly reminded of the fate of Stanford's fine opera 'Savonarola', which was heard twice in one year, 1884, at Hamburg and in London, but never again. An interesting article could be written on the theme of masterpieces strangled at birth; and in it Emmanuel's 'Salamine' would provide a conspicuous example.

Emmanuel had a full musical life, and he had his reward, if not in the applause of the crowd, yet in the appreciation of the *élite* and in the joy of composition. He stands in the succession of the great French masters, and to the heritage upon which he entered he added something entirely his own. His singularly beautiful character is reflected in his music. Devoted as he was to his Church and her service, he deserves the homage of all who care for high seriousness in art. His achievement suggests to an Englishman the phenomenon of our great twin Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, where the new is grafted on the old, where modern science has full play without sacrifice of ancient tradition. So Emmanuel's art, founded solidly upon the past, looks serenely and boldly out upon the future. For him at least the old was, not better indeed, but essentially good.

## A BEETHOVEN MOVEMENT AND ITS SUCCESSORS

By MOSCO CARNER

VOLUMES have been written and will continue to be written on the amount and importance of the influence Beethoven exercised upon his successors in the field of the symphony. Any study of this influence will above all have to answer two main questions: How was Beethoven's symphonic technique taken over by later symphonists? And in what light did they regard his symphonic ideas, the spiritual world that he embodied in his great works? Though the first is a technical and the second a philosophical question, the two are closely linked, for Beethoven's symphonic work is perhaps the most striking example of the idea behind the music creating and shaping its means of expression, its technique. The present article is an attempt to study and possibly answer those two questions, not in a general way, but by choosing a special case that seems in more than one respect particularly suited to such a task.

In common with other people I have often felt that certain similarities and analogies exist between the Allegretto of Beethoven's seventh and the second movements of Schubert's C major and Mendelssohn's A major Symphonies. However, before starting to investigate the justice of this view I came across a remark in a recent book by Gerald Abraham<sup>(1)</sup> which confirmed it and at the same time added a third case for study by drawing attention to the second movement of Berlioz's 'Harold in Italy', of which the author says that "it was obviously suggested by the corresponding movement in Beethoven's Seventh". A comparative analysis of the four movements in question makes the hypothesis highly probable that Schubert, Berlioz and Mendelssohn must all have, consciously or unconsciously, taken the Beethoven Allegretto more or less as a model for the corresponding movements in their respective symphonies. Considering the differences of personality, artistic temperament and style it was natural that the results should be widely

<sup>(1)</sup> 'A Hundred Years of Music' (Duckworth, London, 1938).

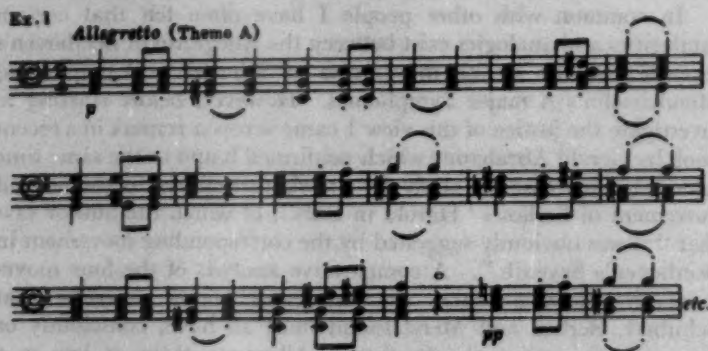
different; but it is these very differences that furnish the most interesting points for analysis.

As the object of this essay can be achieved only by comparison of the four movements, the analysis must rest chiefly on those points which represent the *tertium comparationis*. Beethoven's Allegretto is in rondo-cum-sonata-form:

A ——— B ——— A ——— C ——— A ——— B ——— Coda  
(A minor) (A major) (shortened) (development of A) (only hinted at) (shortened)

The movement opens and concludes with three bars of a held six-four chord, a kind of "curtain". The exposition of theme A shows a rather uncommon structure which suggests the idea of a terrace. Beethoven repeats theme A three times, the melody rising each time an octave higher. Correspondingly the scoring becomes richer and the dynamics increase until on the last repetition the whole orchestra is employed *fortissimo*. Beethoven enriches the texture, too, by introducing at the first repetition a most expressive counter-melody. Thus the tremendous building-up to the climax at bar 75 is achieved not only through a mere mechanical increase of the dynamics but by a combination of means. The increase of the sound-volume in several stages by a gradual enriching of the orchestration produces yet another result. These stages coincide with the architectural outlines, which are thus brought into sharp relief. It is as though each step of the terrace received a new and brighter colour.<sup>(1)</sup>

Let us look for a moment at the themes themselves:



Theme A is a strict period of two eight-bar sections. Beethoven seems to stress this squareness of build by regularly repeating the second section and by putting in "full-stop" rests in bars 8, 16 and

<sup>(1)</sup> In his 'Bolero' Ravel used this device in a highly effective manner.



24. Another characteristic of the theme is the rhythmic pattern  $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ , suggestive of a slow march, which pervades the whole movement. The actual tune seems to have been born out of this rhythm, as is shown by bars 5 and 6, where the merely rhythmic figure crystallizes into a melodic germ-motive of dominant importance. In contrast to A, theme B has no such deep-cutting caesurae, but flows continuously without breaks. The markedly rhythmic character of the whole movement suggests a march heavily throbbing along and dominated by a sort of heroic pathos. The

Ex. 2 (Theme B)



only bright colour is provided by theme B (in A major) which has a slight hymn-tune flavour and introduces a soothing contrast. Though not marked as such, this Allegretto is really a symphonic march of a kind Beethoven had produced earlier in the funeral marches of the 'Eroica' and the piano Sonata Op. 26. It appears, therefore, that Beethoven saw in the symphonic march a special vehicle for expressing his idea of relentless and inevitable fate. He was to the best of my knowledge the first to introduce a symphonic march with this particular significance into the symphony and sonata.<sup>(2)</sup>

The Allegretto in the seventh Symphony is undoubtedly one of Beethoven's most beautiful and impressive movements. This was at once recognized by the public at the first performance of the work in Vienna in December 1813, and a Viennese critic on that occasion hailed this particular movement as "the crown of the more modern instrumental music". It is thus more than probable that the outstanding qualities of the Allegretto induced successive composers to model one or another of their symphonic movements on its lines.

The first to do this seems to have been Schubert with the Andante of his C major Symphony (1827). It is very likely that he

<sup>(2)</sup> The marches of the divertimenti, cassations and serenades of the Viennese school belong, of course, to a different category altogether.

was much impressed by this Allegretto, the whole character of which is curiously Schubertian. There is, for instance, a striking similarity between a passage in the song 'Der Kreuzzug' and the final bars of the famous Allegretto tune, a similarity that is tantamount to a literal quotation. Compare the cadence in C# minor in the song with that in bars 6-8 of the Beethoven theme :<sup>(4)</sup>

Ex. 3

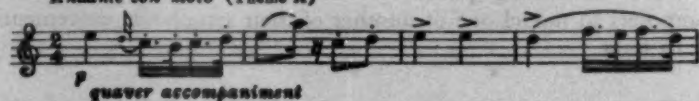


The group of Leitner songs to which 'Der Kreuzzug' belongs was written in 1827-28, that is about the time of the C major Symphony. It is significant that Schubert uses this Beethoven motif in a song containing the idea of wandering and pilgrimage. About this important fact I shall have more to say later.

Let us now examine the Andante of the C major Symphony. Its position in the order of the movements, its key (A minor) and its time (2-4) are identical with those of the Beethoven Allegretto. So is, essentially, the tempo. For although Beethoven's tempo is *allegretto*, the composer is credited with remarking later that he really meant an *andantino quasi allegretto*, which in practice comes very near Schubert's *andante con moto*. Like Beethoven, Schubert cast his movement in sonata-cum-rondo form :

A	B	A	C	B	A
(A minor)	(F major)	(shortened)	(development of A)	(A major)	(Coda)
(A major)	(D minor)			(F# minor)	

Beethoven's three-bar "curtain" is here replaced by a seven-bar introduction which shows theme A in its embryonic form. Here are the two main themes :

Ex. 4 *Andante con moto* (Theme A)


<sup>(4)</sup> In his 'Ludwig van Beethoven' Thayer draws attention to this fact, but he quotes there a less characteristic passage from the song, and Richard Capell, in his 'Schubert's Songs', speaks of certain rhythmical relations between the song 'Die Sterne' (1828) and the Beethoven Allegretto.



Ex. 5


(Theme B)




This theme has the same strictly periodic, two-section build as Beethoven's, yet is extended by a new thought in the major key to 36 as against 24 bars of the Allegretto theme. To treat this gigantic theme—gigantic, of course, if we think in terms of the classical symphony—in the manner of Beethoven's "terrace" would have resulted in a monster exposition that would have entirely upset the formal balance of the movement. (As it is, the Andante is not completely satisfactory in this respect.) That Schubert, however, had something like the "terrace" in his mind is shown by his repeating theme A twice, though in a shortened form. Bars 2 and 3 of the theme clearly point to Beethoven's germ-motif (see Ex. 1) and as in the Allegretto it plays an essential part here too. Theme B shows certain similarities with its "opposite number" in the Beethoven movement in that it avoids sharp caesurae, flows more continuously than A and possesses a hymn-like character. The march element is strongly emphasized in the marked rhythm of the dotted motives of theme A and the processional  of the accompaniment figures.<sup>(1)</sup>

I suggest that the Schubert Andante is essentially a symphonic march built on the lines of Beethoven's Allegretto, yet with the difference that the heroic expression of the latter is here superseded by a feeling of wistful melancholy. Schubert's Andante stands for the same idea as Beethoven's Allegretto, that is, the symphonic march as the musical symbol of tragic fate, but conceived by a different mind and temperament.<sup>(2)</sup>

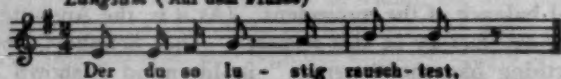
That this interpretation of the Schubert movement is not an

<sup>(1)</sup> It is worth pointing out a characteristic and, from a psychological point of view, significant difference, within the same metre, between the quaver movement in the Schubert piece, which makes for a lighter and more even flow of the music, and Beethoven's weighty  rhythm.

<sup>(2)</sup> The same idea is to be found in the march-like movements of Mahler's symphonies, which in their gloom and melancholy seem to point directly to Schubert's influence.

arbitrary and wholly subjective supposition can be seen from the cycle 'Die Winterreise', written the year before the C major Symphony. These songs make it perfectly clear that for Schubert the idea of marching and restless wandering was symbolic of an unhappy life. It is no mere coincidence that we find a number of motifs and rhythmical patterns in these songs which also occur, either note for note or in some modification, in the A minor movement of the Symphony. It is fairly safe to say that the symphonic movement was born out of the same despondent mood as that which produced the songs of 'Die Winterreise'. Richard Capell, discussing 'Gute Nacht' in this cycle,<sup>(7)</sup> calls attention to that kinship when he says that "the general movement [of 'Gute Nacht'] recalls the processional threnodies in some of the instrumental works, for instance . . . the A minor movement of the Symphony in C". Compare the monotonous and continuous  accompaniment of 'Gute Nacht' with that of the symphonic movement, or motifs taken at random such as :

## Ex. 6

*Langsam (Auf dem Flusse)**Langsam (Irlicht)**Langsam (Einsamkeit)*


with some of the Andante. All these motifs with their characteristic rise up to the fifth are Schubert's typical "wander motifs", suggestive of motion. (Note also the meaning of the words.)

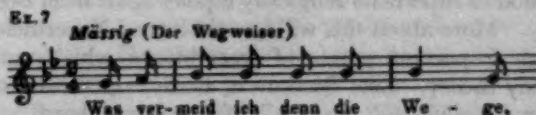
The most striking example, however, of this kinship is provided by 'Der Wegweiser', which perhaps best expresses Schubert's idea of an unhappy earthly pilgrimage and is in its mood, as well as thematically and rhythmically, closely related to the A minor movement. The identity of mood seems so striking, indeed, that one feels tempted to put the line of the song, "Eine Strasse muss ich gehen, die noch keiner ging zurück", as motto over the Andante.<sup>(8)</sup>

<sup>(7)</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>(8)</sup> This would be quite in keeping with the established fact that most of Schubert's instrumental music bears a strong poetical significance.



The technical relation is equally close. 'Der Wegweiser', like the Andante, is in a minor key (G minor); it has the same time-measure and the same sadly monotonous  movement which, exactly as in the A minor piece, dies away in almost motionless, tired crotchets. And its main motif<sup>(10)</sup> is a sort of free augmentation of the characteristic motif in bars 2-3 of the Andante tune, which in its turn goes back to the germ-motif of the Beethoven theme:



Is it too bold to suggest that Schubert expressed in the symphonic movement the same idea that lies behind this simple song? If he did so—and much appears to point to it, as we have seen—then there is no doubt that the A minor movement is a symphonic march. And the notion of treating this idea symphonically and incorporating it in the Symphony must have come from Beethoven's Allegretto.

\*     \*     \*

The next composer after Schubert to follow Beethoven's precedent by introducing a symphonic march into a symphony was Berlioz. He did this first with the 'Marche au supplice' in his 'Symphonie fantastique'. Apart from the mere fact, however, that it is a march in the form of a symphonic movement, there seems to be no relation between this 'Marche' and the corresponding movements in Beethoven's 'Eroica' or seventh Symphonies. Yet it may be that the generating idea of the 'Eroica', the artist as hero—in Beethoven's conception the representative of an ideal humanity—had something to do with Berlioz's grotesque 'Episode de la vie d'un artiste'. In his 'Harold in Italy' (1834), however, we do find a close relation with Beethoven's Seventh. The *allegro* section of Berlioz's first movement, 'Scènes de mélancholie, de bonheur et de joie', with its vivacious 6-8 theme, corresponds very nearly to the 6-8 *vivace* of Beethoven's first movement. Similarly, the finale of the 'Harold' Symphony, 'Orgie de Brigands', a furious *allegro frenetico*, seems to be modelled on the lines of Beethoven's

<sup>(10)</sup> It is significant that Mahler used the same melodic and rhythmic pattern in the fourth song of his 'Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen', a song-cycle with the same general idea and mood as 'Die Winterreise'.

fourth movement, the main characteristic of which is wild frenzy and excessive energy.<sup>(10)</sup>

Let us now turn to the 'Marche de Pèlerins' in the 'Harold' Symphony. Like Beethoven's Allegretto it is a second movement and an *allegretto* march. Apart from this, little else seems at a first glance to point to the Beethoven movement. Its structure is different, being in true march form with a sort of trio (the 'Canto religioso' section); it is in the major (E and C major); and as regards mood its superficial religiosity is poles apart from Beethoven's profundity. More about this will be said later. Nevertheless, there are enough important points of resemblance which would substantiate my theory. Like Beethoven, Berlioz opens and concludes the movement with a "curtain" of sustained chords; the first theme is in strict periodical form and square-cut, only that Beethoven's "full-stop" rests are here filled in with the so-called murmuring of the pilgrims. The chant-like tune itself moves along in heavy, monotonous ♩ ♩, a rhythm that is kept up throughout the movement just as in the Beethoven Allegretto:



Again, the codas of the movements are strikingly alike. Both die away *pianissimo* and split the rhythmic pattern of the main theme: the Allegretto ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ and the 'Marche' ♩ ♩ ♩. It will be remembered that Beethoven's second theme had a somewhat hymn-like character. Now Berlioz's second theme—that of the trio—is a 'Canto religioso'. This, of course, was dictated by the programme. But is the analogy with Beethoven just a mere coincidence?

Further, a good deal in the formal structure of the exposition of the 'Marche' points to the "terrace" of the Beethoven Allegretto. Though Berlioz does not repeat the theme, he does something very much the same in order to get the effect of Beethoven's "terrace". He follows the theme by a chain of melodic variants which, however,

<sup>(10)</sup> It is interesting to note that Wagner, in describing this Beethoven finale, actually used the word "orgies" when he said that "here the purely rhythmical movement, so to speak, celebrates its orgies".

retain the original rhythmical pattern, and he gradually enriches the scoring up to the climax. And, like Beethoven with his expressive counter-melody, he effectively introduces as a counterpoint from bar 64 onward the augmented 'Harold' theme from the first movement, thus enriching the texture melodically too.<sup>(11)</sup>

But there is a fundamental difference between Berlioz's way of "scoring" the *crescendo* in order to reach the climax and Beethoven's architectural scoring. Berlioz is not concerned to bring the architectural outlines into sharp relief by means of an instrumentation in which the changes are mainly conditioned by the structural plan of his music. The theme and its variants are given chiefly to the strings while the wind add ever-changing colours to the sequence of "scenes" in the programme. The determining factor in Berlioz's scoring is its pictorial element, which contrasts sharply with Beethoven's much less imaginative, architectural handling of the orchestra.<sup>(12)</sup> Yet one advantage of Beethoven's scoring lies in that it secures, *per se* and practically without the aid of the conductor, a natural *crescendo* to the climax. Highly coloured and varied as Berlioz's is, it helps little in producing a gradual dynamic increase. Berlioz seems to have been aware of this, for he expressly demands the aid of the conductor when he advises him in the score at the beginning of the 'March': "Si deve eseguire questo pezzo *crescendo* poco a poco fin al forte ed allora diminuendo a poco fin alla fine". If the *crescendo* had been "scored", this remark would have been unnecessary.

Another far-reaching difference already referred to lies in the functions of the symphonic march in Beethoven and Schubert on the one hand and in Berlioz on the other. Whereas the Viennese composers saw in the symphonic march the musical symbol of an all-embracing human idea—life as a tragic pilgrimage—the Frenchman drops that conception and puts in its place a superficially religious idea represented by the march and chant of pilgrims.

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We now turn to our last example: Mendelssohn's 'Italian' Symphony, which like 'Harold in Italy' seems to have been

<sup>(11)</sup> Though the introduction of the Harold theme is dictated by the programme, the analogy with Beethoven's procedure shows that Berlioz is employing a purely musical device that can be understood without reference to his programme. This is one of the many examples which go to prove that Berlioz, though he got most of his inspirations from non-musical (literary) sources, followed established musical laws in the working-out of his material.

<sup>(12)</sup> The orchestral style of Liszt, Wagner, Strauss and Debussy belongs to the pictorial order, while that of Schumann, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Bruckner and Mahler follows more or less Beethoven's line of scoring.

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modelled in three of its four movements on Beethoven's Seventh. The key is A major, the *allegro vivace* first movement in 6-8 time reminds one very much of the corresponding movement in the Beethoven Symphony, and its finale, the 'Saltarello', is a wild, exuberant dance movement exactly like Beethoven's *allegro con brio*. And there is some local colouring in both the finales—Hungarian and Russian in Beethoven's and Italian in Mendelssohn's. Yet a much closer relation exists between the second movements of the two symphonies. We know that the 'Italian' Symphony was inspired by impressions the composer gained during a visit to Italy in 1830-31, and that its second movement, like Berlioz's 'Marche' in the 'Harold' Symphony, is a march of pilgrims to Rome, the march element being clearly marked in the dull steady tramp of the accompaniment figures—again a symphonic march as second movement of a symphony. Like Beethoven's it stands in a minor key and has to all intents and purposes the same tempo. Its *andante con moto* is practically the *andantino quasi allegretto* of the Seventh. Though the time is 4-4, the rhythm is actually *alla breve*, for the music moves along in weighty ♩ ♩, their duration corresponding very nearly to that of the ♩ ♩ in the Beethoven movement. The march is cast, however, in free sonata form with an incomplete recapitulation:

A ————— B ————— C ————— B ————— Coda  
(D minor)    (A major)    (development of A)    (D major)

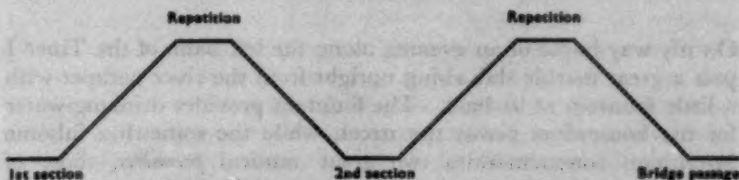
A short motif from a bridge-passage between theme A and B represents the "curtain" with which the piece opens. Theme A is, like Beethoven's first subject, a strict period, square-cut and showing the same "full-stop" rests to underline the caesurae:

Ex. 9



The exposition of theme A follows Beethoven's "terrace", the two eight-bar sections of the theme being both repeated separately (Beethoven repeats only the second), and the melody rises an octave higher with each repetition. At the same time a two-part counterpoint on the flutes is added. The result is much as in the Beethoven Allegretto—a natural increase of the sound-volume

and a brightening of the orchestral colours. But Mendelssohn does not go on repeating as Beethoven does. He is content with building a two-storey terrace, as it were, instead of Beethoven's four-storey one. Nor has he in mind a *crescendo* on Beethoven's lines. On the contrary, the dynamic curve that started with the repetition, an octave higher, of the first section of A is reduced to zero again by the "low" scoring of the second section :



But it becomes clear that Mendelssohn's principle of scoring is here an architectural one, for his instrumentation follows in the main a structural plan and is designed with a view to stressing the architectural outlines.

Two points in this neatly-built exposition betray Mendelssohn's dominant weakness : his formalism. First, the scoring of the two sections of theme A are exactly the same, and so are those of their repetitions ; secondly, the counterpoint that Mendelssohn introduces on the flutes is a mere filling in with dry, lifeless lines. (What a contrast to Beethoven's beautifully expressive counter-melody !) But this should not stand in the way of our appreciation of the purity and shapeliness of the movement as a whole.

Though Mendelssohn had apparently modelled his movement on the lines of Beethoven's Allegretto, we are again reminded by it of what has already been said of Berlioz's ' Marche ' : Mendelssohn writes a symphonic march but fails to imbue it with the profound feeling of its prototype. Beethoven's heroism is replaced by a sweet religious sentiment, much more genuine than Berlioz's, but lacking that overwhelming urge which characterizes the symphonic marches of the greater master.

## OPERA—PAPAL AND REGAL

BY PIERO SANTINI

ON my way home of an evening along the left bank of the Tiber I pass a great marble slab rising upright from the river parapet with a little fountain at its base. The fountain provides drinking-water for the housewives across the street, while the somewhat fulsome inscription commemorates two great musical *premières*, those of 'Il Trovatore' on January 19th 1858 and of 'Un ballo in maschera' a year later, at a theatre long since demolished, the Apollo.

It is this last name, rather than those of Verdi's operas, that stirs the earliest musical recollections in the hearts of Romans of my vintage, for the Apollo, although gone where all good theatres go long before we could have any possible personal recollection of it, was a household word often pronounced by the generation of our fathers with the wistful emotion ever connected with memories of youth.

The theatre, first called Tor di Nona, was built on the ruins of a tower of sinister fame where for centuries criminals and political prisoners were interned and tortured. This origin does not seem to have brought it much luck; perhaps the sufferings of the gaol's victims, many of whom, like the Cenci and the matricides Marcantonio Massimo and Paolo Santacroce, were barbarously executed at the end of the Sant' Angelo bridge a stone's throw away, may have weighed like a malediction on it; certainly few places of amusement had a more chequered career.

To be sure, under papal rule all public theatres in Rome got only intermittent encouragement; as to opera, it remained the exclusive privilege of the aristocracy long after Venice, the first city in Italy to make what was then an entirely new form of art accessible to the people had, in 1643, publicly produced at the Teatro San Casciano the first performances of opera as, on general lines, we know it to-day.

If, from the time of Alexander VI on, there was no lack of luxurious private theatrical life of various kinds in papal Rome, the rules regulating public amusement changed continually, according to the humours and greater or lesser broadmindedness of succeeding pontiffs and their minions, with the result that by the end of the



eighteenth century the city found itself infinitely worse provided with places of amusement than Milan, Naples or Turin.

Nevertheless, it was from the palaces of the rich and powerful Romans that opera actually took its departure. Leo X, the munificent Medicean patron of all the arts, caused Lodovico Ariosto's 'Suppositi' to be produced at Castel Sant' Angelo in 1519 with scenery designed and painted by Raphael—a semi-musical performance which marked the beginning of a series of similar productions at embassies and at the private residences of the nobility. It was not, however, until a full century later that, imported from Florence by the Roman composer Emilio del Cavaliere, the first glimmering of what was then termed *melodramma* (i.e. musical drama) made its appearance in Rome, inconsistently to find favourable ground in that very element—the ecclesiastical—which so determinedly opposed public theatrical expression. One of the many forms, in fact, that the prodigal nepotism of the Renaissance popes assumed was precisely the theatre and especially the musical theatre which, supported by the enriched papal families for the exclusive entertainment of relatives, friends and henchmen, soon reached an unrivalled degree of excellence of execution and setting. The hall, for instance, where Milton, on his Italian journey, attended on March 1st 1639 the opera 'Chi soffre spera', had been built with "regal magnificence" by the Barberini and could accommodate 3,000 spectators. Popes Clement VII (Chigi) and Clement IX (Rospigliosi), furthermore, were certainly not men to discourage this trend, the latter indeed having made his début as a playwright precisely at the Barberini theatre.

It is, however, to a French adventurer, Count d'Alibert, the protégé, confidant and, on occasion, diplomatic agent of Queen Maria Christina of Sweden then living in Rome, that the Eternal City owed its first public operatic performances. Alibert, through the influence of the apostate queen—who was following the fashion by having music and plays performed at her residence, the Palazzo Riario on the right bank of the Tiber, almost directly opposite the Tor di Nona—secured the lease and management of the theatre and a monopoly of operatic public performances. The customary bad luck of the locality had not, however, been exorcized. Whether because, as was alleged, the behaviour of the belles and gallants who frequented the hall was more than the authorities could stomach or whether a fit of excessive prudery on the part of the reigning Pope Innocent XI was responsible, the fact remains that the theatre was demolished in 1697.

D'Alibert, however, his managerial appetite whetted by the

Tor di Nona speculation, later—in 1718—caused a theatre, “the largest in Rome”, used for musical drama and public carnival balls, to be built in a little street, which still bears his name, connecting the Via Margutta to the Via del Babuino. Here for many years the Aliberti enjoyed undisputed supremacy over all the other theatres in Rome, thanks mainly to the great success of Metastasio’s dramas ‘Catone’, ‘Semiramide’ and ‘Alessandro nell’Indie’, set to music by Vinci. The description of it left us by the historian Bergeret is worth quoting as a very vivid picture of the times :

The hall is large but very poorly decorated. It contains six tiers of boxes with nothing to distinguish their various rows. They look like the cubicles of a huge dove-cot, and are not very clean. They contain no chairs, and those who want them have to hire them or get their boxes furnished by upholsterers.

This theatre was, at that period, much frequented by audiences of exuberant animal spirits and personal habits difficult for us in our day to imagine. “During the performance”, says Bergeret, “the din is incredible. Every one does as he pleases ; some eat and drink, others, in the pit, give free course to the exigencies of nature”—a truly Hogarthian picture of an unruly and very incompletely “house-broken” assembly !

Unfortunately for Monsieur le Comte d’Alibert a rival theatre soon arose, and Rome was quickly divided into two factions which by no means limited the expression of their partisanship to applause or cat-calls. Incredible brawls between the *Alibertini* and the *Argentini* and the most brutal practical jokes played on both public and performers became frequent. In the struggle the fortunes of the older theatre declined, until it disappeared from the field altogether.

In spite of its shabby exterior and an entrance better suited to a stable than to a venue of respectable amusement which it possessed when first built, the Argentina<sup>(1)</sup> from the very outset enjoyed the favour of the public and the patronage of the best society. Its interior arrangements, however, although on a grander scale than those of the barn-like Alibert, were not very superior to those of its fallen rival up to 1897. The great chandelier that hung from the ceiling shed a light in those times considered adequate, but

<sup>(1)</sup> Lest the reader should be misled into thinking that the name of the theatre is in any way connected with the silvery voices (It. *Voci argentine*) with which it echoed, it will be well to explain that, built by Duke Sforza Cesarini in 1790, it arose on the site once occupied by the residence of Monsignor Burkhardt (It. *Burcardo*), factotum and master of ceremonies to the Borgia Pope Alexander VI. The worthy prelate, having achieved position and fortune in Rome, built himself a house, placing on its tower a marble inscription in memory of his native city, Strasburg, the Latin name of which is Argentina or Argentinensis. Hence Teatro di Torre Argentina, later more briefly Teatro Argentina.

was pulled out of sight for the rest of the evening the moment the performance began. The only other illumination coming from the stage, where tallow candles standing in crockery saucers constituted the footlights, the aspect of the hall during the *entr'actes* could not have been very brilliant. A long time passed before these were replaced by oil lamps. The spectators were obliged to use tapers sold for the purpose at the theatre doors in order to read their programmes or librettos or to recognize even their most intimate friends during the intervals. Years went by before the management could be persuaded to lower the chandelier from the ceiling between the acts. Heating was limited to whatever warmth coal braziers in the corridors could provide—probably none too much. Although even the most luxurious private houses then lacked practically everything we now consider essential to reasonable well-being, it must have been a patient, good-natured and hardy public which could put up cheerfully with such discomfort in a theatre.

The Argentina manners seem, in the first century of its existence, to have been slightly better than those current at the Alibert although, it not being good form to take too much notice of the stage, noisy conversations were also carried on in all the boxes, transformed into tiny drawing-rooms for the exchange of social amenities. Ices and refreshments of all kinds and even complete suppers were incessantly being served, and high play at cards and dominoes helped to pass the time. It was only at intervals, to honour perhaps a very great singer or listen to a favourite *cavatina*, that this glittering, gay but entirely ill-bred and inconsiderate world deigned to recompense the singers—of whom ordinarily they took such small notice—by frantic waving of lace handkerchiefs, hand-clapping and applause.

The site of the demolished Tor di Nona was eventually purchased by the Santacroce family, which in its turn sold it to the banker Torlonia. Alessandro Santacroce, founder of the present princely house, renamed it the Apollo and gave it a new and vigorous lease of life, destined however to be its last. The year 1870 saw the end of the temporal power of the papacy with the entry into Rome of Victor Emanuel's troops. In the new era which followed the life of the Eternal City, a quiet and conservative backwater under ecclesiastical sway, suddenly took on a different and more rapid rhythm. Bought by the municipality, the Apollo was demolished in 1888 to make way for the "new Roman road" and the great Tiber embankment necessary to control the floods from which the lower city had periodically suffered.

One of the characteristics Roman opera shared with its stage in general was the absolute exclusion of women from its boards. Pope

Innocent XI (Odescalchi), responsible for the closing and later the demolishing of the Tor di Nona theatre, by his edict of May 4th 1686 emphasized his bigoted antipathy toward female performers by forbidding music-masters to accept any but male pupils. This exclusion of women from all public theatrical performances resulted in a strange and highly immoral state of affairs. Feminine parts were taken by eunuchs, already for centuries employed as church singers. Some of these unfortunates reached such remarkable degrees of dramatic and vocal virtuosity as to attain great fame. Many were called to foreign courts and their "white" voices, added to carefully studied movements and attitudes, succeeded in conveying an almost perfect illusion of femininity. The performances of Crescentini in Paris, for example, drew tears of emotion from the eyes of Napoleon himself and the fanaticism caused by Tantini in 1780 in the part of Armida inspired sonnets and poems.

Naturally these misogynistic regulations resulted in ludicrous as well as pitiful situations. Ordinary normal men, for example, appeared in all female roles of the ballets, and as they often possessed markedly masculine physiques, the effects were at times incongruous. Arckenholz, in an account of a journey to Italy, tells us that in a performance of 'Zaira' the *prima ballerina* was a butcher; one night this man having kept the audience waiting until it became violent, another member of the company appeared before the curtain and begged for a little patience on the plea that Zaira was shaving!

This absurd state of affairs continued until the very end of the eighteenth century. In 1794 the appearance of a soprano named Angelini at the Argentina was hailed as the first victory of woman in this particular field, although, according to some, female performers had already been seen on the Roman stage four years earlier, at the Apollo and the Valle—the latter, incidentally, Rome's leading prose theatre to this day.

While the Apollo was being demolished the present successor of all the operatic theatres of Rome was rising in the new part of the town, thanks to the enterprise of an hotel-keeper and building contractor, Signor Costanzi. Built by the architect Sfondrini, its vaulted ceiling decorated with a truly magnificent fresco representing a Roman triumph by the Perugian painter Annibale Brugnoli, the Teatro Costanzi opened its doors to the Roman public on November 20th 1880 with Rossini's 'Semiramide', a brilliant and epoch-making event. Shortly afterwards Verdi's 'Otello', first produced in Milan three months earlier, made its bow to the audiences of the capital. The "Treno Otello" (Othello train) on which orchestra, singers, chorus and scenery were all brought



together from Milan for the Roman performances was the nine days' wonder of that particular period. The success of the new opera was even greater in Rome than it had been in Milan, and financial results broke all preceding limits.

But perhaps the most sensational *première* recorded in the whole history of the Costanzi was that of 'Cavalleria rusticana', produced on May 17th 1890. Totally unknown before, its composer, the young provincial music-teacher Pietro Mascagni, achieved fame overnight. Other operas also to make their public débuts on the boards of the old Costanzi were Verdi's 'Falstaff' and 'Simon Boccanegra', the latter with the famous soprano Darclee, Puccini's 'Tosca', Mascagni's 'Amico Fritz', 'I Rantzau', 'Iris' and 'Il piccolo Marat'. Practically all the great Italian singers, from the eighties on, have trod the Costanzi boards, among them Stagno, Battistini, De Luca, Storch, Bonci, Sammarco, the Spanish soprano Barrientos, di Muro, Gigli, the great basses Titta Ruffo and De Angelis, and an endless host of others.

While its larger and more modern successor was drawing the smarter crowd, the little Argentina was pursuing—as indeed it still continues to follow—its even way as the house of both prose and opera. Some of Italy's greatest singers of the gay nineties, like Gemma Bellincioni and Francesco Marconi, had a particular predilection for its intimate atmosphere and hallowed traditions. Marconi, beloved of the Roman people from which he sprang (he had begun life as a carpenter's apprentice), never denied the Argentina gallery an encore. The typical successful tenor of that period, florid, sleek and prosperous of aspect, with a pointed black beard à la *Henri Quatre*, Marconi was for years one of the characters of Roman life. Reputed to have amassed fabulous wealth in Russia, which he periodically visited and whence he never returned without magnificent personal presents from the Tsar himself, Marconi was particularly dear to the *plebs* of his native city for his ready, if somewhat coarse humour, which always came brilliantly to his aid in his frequent encounters with the temperamental Bellincioni, who generally sang "opposite" him. New accounts of these verbal bouts—which generally took place during rehearsals—convulsed Marconi's supporters almost every day. If these tales of prompt, if not always gallant repartee were perhaps not all strictly true, the Romans were content to dismiss any doubts they may have harboured with the repetition of the ancient saw *se non è vero è ben trovato*—and worthy of the adored "Checco", *beau idéal* of Roman tenors.

In the past few years Rome and its foreign guests owe not a few charming evenings to the rejuvenated Costanzi, now more fittingly

called Teatro Reale dell' Opera. Apart from the superior excellence of its orchestra and some of the best voices procurable in the world at this moment, it is difficult to imagine more sumptuous costuming and *mise-en-scène* of more satisfying artistry. The stage, now placed, by a daring and most successful feat of architectural legerdemain, where the entrance used to be, possesses all the latest and most modern electric and mechanical contrivances with which to create all the illusions of light, optics and perspective possible in a modern theatre. Until 1927, the year of the Costanzi transformation, only the Milan Scala was as well equipped.

In spite, however, of all the advantages and the encouragement lavished by the present régime on everything connected with the arts, it is perhaps typical of the contrariness of genius that Italy has not for many a year given the world an operatic composer of any stature. In other days, when little was done to aid struggling artists, they seemed to blossom under sometimes tragic difficulties, almost, in fact, as if because of them, in the stony soil of the "gay and terrible" *vie de Bohème*. Has ground carefully prepared for the development of talent the opposite effect, or is it simply that for some unfathomable reason there are periods when the genius of a race mysteriously hibernates while awaiting a resurrection no mortal eye can foresee?

## UNKNOWN BIRTHDAYS OF SOME GEORGIAN MUSICIANS

BY HENRY GEORGE FARMER

BIOGRAPHERS in the past rarely considered that birthdays are of any importance. To-day our knowledge of them is looked upon as a desideratum. A case in point is the old 'Dictionary of Musicians' (1824) which, as I disclosed some time ago, was edited by a certain John S. Sainsbury. In this work the year of birth was deemed to be quite sufficient. The result was that all subsequent works of authority, from Fétis onwards, merely give the year of birth, because Sainsbury's 'Dictionary' was the sole source of information.

Some years ago I discovered, in the Euing Musical Library at the Royal Technical College, Glasgow,<sup>(1)</sup> the original documents from which were compiled the "hundred original memoirs of the most eminent living musicians" which the editor of the 'Dictionary of Musicians' claimed to be the special feature of his book. As I pointed out on that occasion,<sup>(2)</sup> these original documents in the Euing Musical Library are in the handwriting of, or were dictated by, these "hundred . . . most eminent living musicians" themselves. They contain, in most cases, their opinion and estimate of their own abilities as composers or performers, the identical phraseology of which may be traced in modern works of reference. *Verb. sap.*

It is from these original documents that I cull the precise dates of birth of thirty-nine of these "eminent musicians" and thereby fill a hiatus in the several authoritative works of reference. At the same time I do not wish it to be thought that I accept Sainsbury's label of "eminence" for all of these musicians of the Georgian era; but the fact remains that most of them are given recognition in these works of reference. Yet if we analyse these books, from the most inclusive to the most exclusive of them, we may perhaps form some sort of standard of the worth of these "eminent musicians" of the period.

<sup>(1)</sup> Now in the Glasgow University Library.

<sup>(2)</sup> 'Music & Letters', Vol. XII, October 1931, pp. 384-392.

From the very nature of the book it may be said that the most inclusive of these authoritative works is the 'British Musical Biography' by J. D. Brown and S. S. Stratton. In this admirable and carefully edited book, intended to include every British musician who had a claim to be noticed, twenty-eight out of these thirty-nine musicians mentioned by me have found a place. This means that eleven were not considered worthy of inclusion, a point at which there can be little cause to cavil, although perhaps Marmaduke Charles Wilson and Henry Wylde might have been given a line. The former, a prodigy and a pupil of Charles Wesley, is noticed by Fétis; the latter was the father of Dr. Henry Wylde, the Gresham Professor, and was the composer of some excellent glees.

The next work in the *decrecendo* of inclusiveness is the 'Biographical Dictionary of Musicians' by J. D. Brown, one of the editors of the previous work, which, as the editor admitted, gave prominence to British musicians. In this well-planned book some twenty-four of my thirty-nine musicians are given recognition.

The better-known 'Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians' is, of necessity, more eclectic, the editors using a finer mesh in sifting their material. Yet, in spite of sorting and discrimination, as many as twenty-one of these names are included in its pages. In this case also I believe that the selection is quite judicious.

Finally, there comes the 'Dictionary of National Biography', which must be taken as the norm as to who is deserving of recognition. Within these pages are enshrined nineteen of the thirty-nine mentioned by me. Again, there can be little cause for complaint, unless it may be said that the name of Andrew Ashe, so long the director of the Bath concerts, scarcely deserves to be ignored.

As for continental authorities, I have only specified Fétis<sup>(1)</sup> and Riemann,<sup>(2)</sup> because we have in them what are actually the most inclusive and the most exclusive of these biographers. The former admits twenty-three of the thirty-nine musicians dealt with, while the latter finds room for only six.

I now append a list of these so-called "eminent" Georgian musicians whose precise dates of birth I have resuscitated. These dates must, in most cases, be taken as authoritative, since they are taken from documents in the handwriting of the musicians themselves or their amanuenses.<sup>(3)</sup> I mention this specially because other

<sup>(1)</sup> *Biographie universelle des musiciens*. 2nd edition.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Dictionary of Music*. English translation of 4th edition.

<sup>(3)</sup> I say "in most cases" advisedly, because even the individual himself can make a slip concerning his own birth. Wylde, for example, actually writes "1895" as the year of his birth. Anderson had evidently written 1790, and then scratched the "o" out and substituted "7". I wonder why? Harper himself or his amanuensis gives 1706, and yet all his biographers have 1707.



dates are given in the various authorities cited. Every name is followed by a list of the works of reference in which it occurs, a proceeding which may assist the reader in assessing approximately the "eminence" of the individual listed.

ANDERSON (Lucy), *née* Philpot. b. December 12th 1797.

In the original document the figure "7" is written over an erased figure which appears to be "0".

Brown: "1789 (1787)". Brown-Stratton, D.N.B., Grove and Riemann: "1790".

ASHE (Andrew). b. "about the year 1759".

Brown and Brown-Stratton: "1758 (1756)?" Fétis: "1759".

BLAKE (Benjamin). b. February 22nd 1751.

Brown. Brown-Stratton. Fétis.

BLEWITT (Jonathan). b. July 19th 1782.

Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B.: "1780, 1782 or 1784".

Fétis. Grove: "about 1780". Riemann.

BOTTOMLEY (Joseph). b. March 26th 1786.

Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Fétis: "Bottomby". Grove.

BROADHEAD (John). b. April 3rd 1795.

BUCKLEY (Olivia), *née* Dussek. b. September 29th 1801.

Brown-Stratton, D.N.B. and Fétis: "1799". Grove: "1797".

BURROUGHS (John Freckleton). b. April 23rd 1787.

Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Fétis: "Freckleton". Grove.

BUTLER (Thomas Hamly). b. "5th November about the year 1762".

This is in the handwriting of his wife Susannah.

Brown, Brown-Stratton, Fétis and Grove: "5th November, 1762".

CALKIN (James). b. September 19th 1784.

Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B.

CHAPPLE (Samuel). b. July 20th 1775.

Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Fétis. Grove.

CLIFTON (John Charles). b. November 7th 1781.

Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Fétis. Grove. Riemann.

COOKE (Nathaniel). b. April 6th 1773.

Brown. Brown-Stratton. Fétis. Grove.

CORFE (Joseph). b. December 25th 1740.

Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Grove.

- CUTLER (William Henry). b. January 14th 1792.  
Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Fétis. Grove.
- DANNELEY (John Feltham). b. March 9th 1786.  
Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Fétis. Grove. Riemann.
- DUSSEK (Sophia Giustina), *née* Corri. b. May 1st 1775.  
Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Fétis. Grove.
- FROST (Edward). b. December 27th 1781.
- GUEST (George). b. May 1st 1771.  
Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Fétis. Grove.
- HARPER (Thomas). b. May 3rd 1786.  
Brown, Brown-Stratton, D.N.B., Grove and Riemann: "1787".  
Fétis: "1786". The document, in the handwriting of Thomas Harper, has 1786.
- HART (Joseph [Binns]). b. June 5th 1794.  
Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Fétis. Grove.
- HAYDON (Thomas). b. October 1787.  
Brown. Brown-Stratton.
- HOWELL (Thomas). b. September 1st 1783.  
Brown-Stratton.
- JACOB (Benjamin). b. May 15th 1778.  
Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B.: "before 26th April, 1778". Fétis. Grove. Riemann.
- KNAPTON (Philip). b. October 20th 1788.  
Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Fétis. Grove.
- LYON (Samuel Thomas). b. December 28th 1776.
- MAVIUS (Charles, Jr.). b. August 15th 1800.  
Fétis.
- PARKE (John). b. "about the end of 1745".  
Brown, Brown-Stratton, Fétis and Grove: "1745".
- PURKIS (John). b. June 21st 1781.  
Brown. Brown-Stratton.
- ROGERS (Robert). b. February 8th 1787.
- ROSS (John). b. October 12th 1764.  
Brown, Brown-Stratton, D.N.B. and Grove: "1763". Fétis.
- SMITH (Charles). b. September 1786.  
Brown. Brown-Stratton. D.N.B. Grove.
- SUTTON (William Walter). b. August 1st 1787.
- TAYLOR (Richard). b. August 12th 1758.  
Brown. Brown-Stratton. Fétis.
- TAYLOR (Thomas). b. May 2nd 1787.
- TURLE (William). b. April 15th 1795.
- WHITE (John). b. January 8th 1779.  
Grove.

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WILSON (Marmaduke Charles). b. November 26th 1796.

Fétis.

WYLDE (Henry). b. April 17th 1795.

Wylde himself writes "1895".

In addition to the above there are the dates of birth of five non-British musicians which are not traceable elsewhere.

CRIVELLI (Domenico). b. April 2nd 1794.

Fétis. Grove. Riemann.

FERRARI (Victoire), *née* Henry. b. June 24th 1781.

LIVERATI (Giovanni). b. March 27th 1772.

Fétis. Riemann.

PRINA (J. F.). b. August 5th 1798.

SAUST (Charles). b. May 5th 1773.

## THE HALF-HEARING HABIT

By ROBERT BELL

ALL the arts are perpetually at cross-roads, down which they go to discovery or disaster (and with no option of turning back); but music to-day finds itself in a position of peculiar crisis, which affects the very purpose of its being. Is it, in fact, to be listened to, or not? The question may seem demented, for what is music but a thing to be listened to? But just as there are *biblia abiblia*, and houses which one would willingly pay a reasonable sum to avoid living in, so we cannot deny the existence of a large body of music whose appeal to the ear is only incidental and secondary. I do not refer to the modernist works in which the pursuit of beauty (if that is the word) takes the most devious and thorny paths. The mere fact of discord involves attention, as the rack tends to keep the victim awake. The music in question is of the other kind—soft, agreeable, unremarkable in the most polite and gentlemanly way, lest it should intrude too much. It is the kind of thing which one finds in every hotel restaurant, on every seaside parade. It has recently received an enormous reinforcement through the accession of the B.B.C., with its batteries of orchestras and 'tets and concert parties. It is not the B.B.C.'s fault, or anybody's fault, unless we can put the whole community into the dock for the crime of half-hearing. Is it a man's business to listen with all his ears as it is to live with all his life? Perhaps we stand at the moment in some danger of doing neither the one nor the other. For this particular type of music, while no doubt meant to be heard, is not meant to be listened to. It is meant as a background—an accompaniment to conversation, an adjunct to household affairs, a safeguard against that phenomenon which is coming to be regarded as a public enemy—silence. Just as man dreads solitude, there has arisen of recent years a fear of the loneliness of silence. Even the Psalmist recognized that a noise was "cheerful", and there is no reason why the consolatory epithet should be restricted to the musical aspirations of piety. It is a curious change that a world which once found Bach boring is now coming to welcome any sort of din as a protection against boredom.

The point is a very fundamental one, and not for music only.



And, as I hope to show, there is a good deal to be said for the new half-heartedness. The point is whether music is to be regarded less as an art in itself than as a kind of wallpaper. We may take the simile from the days when wallpaper was still fashionable. People did not look at it, unless they were bedridden and forbidden any other occupation ; but it was always there as a comforting and decorative fact. We ate breakfast, we wrote letters, we talked and sang and quarrelled in its eternal presence, and should have thought it derogatory, almost indecent, to imagine a room in that sense unadorned. There may have been—there may be—good wallpapers worth studying for their own sake, but no one ever did it. When it was always there, that would have seemed a waste of energy. No doubt the right wallpaper had a gracious and unconscious influence on the inmates of the house, and it may be that one rises from a tea-table illuminated by ' *Salut d'amour* ' or the Londonderry Air a slightly better man than if one's conversation about the Derby had been conducted without rivalry. It would help us greatly in this inquiry if we could ascertain what is the precise influence of the lullaby upon the babe. The purpose of this article is to suggest that music tends to become a lullaby for a slightly comatose community ; or perhaps an artistic accompaniment to the nursery games.

It is an odd thought that probably half the music published to-day is written with the intention of not being listened to. A considerable proportion of the B.B.C. programmes consists of this class. It is excellent music of its kind, and the question is just how far its kind is worth while. It is due to the B.B.C. and the seaside pier authorities to say that the boundaries of these popular programmes are being steadily enlarged to include many items that would once have been banned as "highbrow". More and more the "classical" names find their way into them : Mozart, Schubert, Schumann, Chopin, Debussy, even Brahms and Beethoven. The office-boy knows some of the Hungarian Dances and can whistle the more manageable bits of ' *L'Arlésienne* '. Elgar, helped by special occasions, has had his full share of attention, and the popular regard for Handel is no longer confined to the Largo and ' *The Harmonious Blacksmith* '. In every way the door is being pushed open for the better type, and all that we have to do is to listen. We have even got to the point where the more "important" concerts are finding themselves embarrassed by the lack of lighter fare for purposes of contrast. The more familiar overtures, much of Dvořák and Grieg and Tchaikovsky, are now too hackneyed for the more formal occasions ; and not every conductor can rely on his virtuosity to the extent of offering ' *Semiramide* ' and the

'Midsummer Night's Dream' Scherzo, as Toscanini can. The greater is the pity if, as the music offered to the public improves, it only meets with a less appreciative response.

There is no reason why light music, within its limits, should not be as good as the severer kind. Why should music be always judged by the standard of eternity, or as near it as the conditions of human life permit? Every man does his best to dodge oblivion—by getting his name on a tombstone if in no other way—and there has been a similar illusion that music is of no account unless it can stand up against the centuries. But there is an impermanence and fragility in other arts, and why not in music? A tune may fit precisely the moods or circumstances of its own time, and yet fail to win a prize from the Muses. But we may be heterodox enough to say that the Muses are prejudiced in favour of staying-power as against grace and immediacy and pure high spirits, all of them valuable qualities in their way. Many horses in music can do a gallant half-mile who would go to pieces in the Derby. And the tragedy of the day is not so much that the music of the passing day is incompetent, but that it is not taken seriously enough.

How, in this matter of popular appreciation, does music compare with the other arts? I have used the simile of wallpaper, but perhaps a better analogy would be scenery, which is always there on its own account and without any intervention of man, except in so far as he has a sadly limited choice as to whether he shall look from his window on green fields or on factory chimneys. The main difference between the countryman and the townsman is that the one is acutely conscious of the natural background, whereas the other does his best to forget it. That does not mean that the countryman finds nature a distraction; and it may be that, in some cases, the effect of music heard without conscious effort is rather to soothe and steady than to confuse. One or two popular authors of the day have given testimony to this effect, and the only qualification that has to be made is that their works are not of the highest quality. Pictures in a house, too, offer a certain analogy to the hearing of music. However beautiful the work, it can claim only a very limited amount of close attention, but no one would object to the intervals as "wasted". The parallel of literature is perhaps more apposite, for the proportion of negligible publications is at least as high as that of negligible music. There is the vast output of fiction for the libraries, thumbed to-day and to-morrow cast into the oven. It is the response to a demand very similar to that for light music for the conversationalist.

Even in music it must be admitted that there has always been a large proportion of licensed inattention. It is one of the anomalies

of opera as a form that it makes conflicting demands on the theatre-goer as musician and as spectator : he cannot be equally interested in the story and the score. In the case of Wagner the wise man shuts his eyes and takes care not to know German, but the problem is not always so easily solved. In ballet there is the same double appeal. There are even heretics who dislike the song-form itself because the words and the music tend to get in each other's way. What should we say if someone started to recite Browning against the *Appassionata* ? So there is plenty of precedent for the collision of one artistic appeal with another, to the confusion of both. No doubt the champion of poetry could make out an equally good case, for it may be truly said of the author of words for songs, as Beatrice said of Benedick, that " nobody marks him ", and only the inquisitive know whether the lines are inspired or gibberish. It is by an odd topsy-turveydom that the danger to-day is precisely the opposite, and that music is apt to be subordinated to the interests of conversation. Only Mr. Bateman could indicate the fate of the man who was bold enough, at a general gathering, to ask for silence for the *C minor*.

Much of the general indifference may be set down to the new conditions which send us such showers of music day by day that there is no need to count the drops. We are in more danger of being inundated than refreshed, of being stunned by repetition than stimulated by a new adventure. The unfinished *Symphony* need no longer be a delightful memory when it turns up somewhere or other once a week. The major classics, who used to be honoured guests, take now the less romantic position of rather too familiar relatives, and even the most sensitive find themselves in the painful position of having to say " no " to the *Ninth Symphony*. It all ends in our taking things for granted, in turning precious moments into commonplaces ; so that no particular performance need be prized. Inattention is the inevitable penalty of over-supply ; and if we once get into the habit of listening or not listening it is fatally easy to fall degree by degree into the habit of sheer passivity.

There is something of paradox in the recent outburst of Sir Thomas Beecham against the chattering of the audience through the ' *Fidelio* ' Overture, and the new Covent Garden edict against late-comers, when in every other direction music is being heard as a matter of use and wont, undeserving of separate attention. We keep peace during formal concerts (though not always during overtures and entr'actes, except when Sir Thomas is present) ; but these are comparatively expensive, they demand the compliment of personal attendance, they have to be arranged for beforehand—and the very fact of taking trouble makes the end seem desirable.

It is agreed that the most appreciative audience in London is the standing crowd at the Promenades, who find Bach and Beethoven well worth three hours on their legs. Would they listen with the same keenness and intelligence if radio had smoothed out the difficulties of space and physical comfort? But, in the domestic circle, the real rivalry is between the voice and the receiver. The general opinion seems to be that talk is more interesting than music. It is easy to call witnesses for the defence, but why, if the point is granted, spoil the conversation with the noise of instruments? Who started the foolish competition? It must, I think, have been the hotel-keepers, aping what was originally a royal fashion. There was some excuse for monarchs, for royal dinner-tables must be singularly dull places, and silences almost disloyal. We cannot believe that restaurant music was invented simply because the diners had nothing to say.

There is the further question of supply and demand. Under modern conditions a vast amount of music is required, and the first-class supply is very limited. Some of the greatest names are seldom represented by more than one or two of their works, and conductors seem shy of disturbing the residue. Moreover, "great" music was generally on the large scale, and the demand to-day is rather for one than for four-movement lengths. So the tea-shop style, alone of all classes of composition to-day, increases from week to week, and can always find a market. It is true to type, melodious and inoffensive, but it need not be strong on the positive side. It approximates as far as it logically can to the ideal of the old-fashioned child—to be seen and not heard. Its aim is to go in at one ear and out at the other with the minimum disturbance to anything that may lie between. Perhaps it is as a reaction against the type that modernist music takes such unmannerly and obstreperous forms, as if a man should throw a brick through a ballroom window.

It was perhaps an error in nature to arrange that music and language should appeal to the same physical organ. The ear cannot attend to two customers at once, and the effort to do so is unfair to both of them. The complaint has been made that wireless has discouraged conversation. It would be more accurate to say that it has dispersed and debilitated it. There can be no good or serious conversation against a musical background, but there can be, and is, any amount of desultory chatter. It was in other days that Keats wrote:

Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard  
Are sweeter.

What would he say of those half-heard? Not, surely, that the fitting adjective lay midway.



## VERDI'S OPERATIC CHORUSES

By JOHANNES BROCKT

THE chorus has always played an important part in opera, sometimes from the musical point of view, sometimes from that of the libretto. Even before opera had established itself as a species choruses were sung in spoken tragedy, and in the earliest period of operatic evolution, round about 1600, choral collaboration assumed such importance that one may almost attempt a special classification of "choral opera". In the course of the development undergone by opera, including music-drama, the chorus was subjected to many changes of taste. The Germans and the French liked to hear well-displayed choral parts in their operas, but the Italians were at times inclined to exclude them. The classic home of *bel canto*, where preference was given to the virtuosity of vocal soloists and to neatly organized concerted numbers, often had little room for elaborately deployed choral singing. Nevertheless, even there the firm structural props and contrasts to solo song afforded by the chorus could never be dispensed with for long, and Italian operas without chorus are comparatively rare.

Among the dozen or more of Verdi's most familiar stage works not one is without chorus. Although within the framework of an opera his choruses have no great formal importance as part of his musical construction, he fills them with emotional significance ranging from the tenderest lyricism to the most brutal outburst of force. In 'Nabucco', the opera that brought him his first stage success and of which he himself said that it was the one whereby his artistic career had made its true beginning, the musical centre of gravity lies actually in the choruses. They occupy nearly two thirds of the score. The dignity and artless sincerity shown by the choir in this work recalls the choral treatment of Gluck. One looks in vain for anything like this in Italian opera contemporary with 'Nabucco'.

Purely technically Verdi kept even in his later operas to the choral technique of Bellini, Donizetti and Rossini. Such things as his blithe passages in third and sixths, his humming voices, his chord-progressions in detached quavers and his favourite unison tunes he has in common with those masters. Thanks to his genius

for melodic invention he created some of his most impressive and inspiring choruses when he used the device of unison. In 'Nabucco' the choruses "E l'Assiria una regina" and "Va, pensiero, sull' ali dorate" are cases in point. The former, beginning in unison and continuing in a march rhythm of detached quavers, gradually spreads into seven-part writing and ends in triumph; the latter, kept in unison throughout and enveloped in orchestral sextolets, is breathed forth *pianissimo*, reaches *fortissimo* in sudden outbursts, and finally expires in a return to *pianissimo*. Both are highly effective and completely original.

No less stirring are the choruses in 'Ernani' and 'Attila', and they were the more inflaming because the patriotic subjects of these operas meant much to the politically agitated Italy of those days. The unison chorus "Si, ridesti il Leon di Castiglia" in 'Ernani' was joined in by the public with such enthusiasm and persistence that the theatre had to be closed because of the excessive excitement. Of special technical interest, however, are the choruses "Esultiamo! Letizia ne inondi" and "Oh come felici" in the same work, where Verdi uses the chorus merely as harmonic support for the melody given to the orchestra. In 'Macbeth' too there are choral passages carried on widely-spanned melodic arches. The choruses of witches and ghosts, it is true, flow on all too lightly and lack a mood of horror and mystery. Here and there a melodic turn already foretells the master of 'Il Trovatore'. It may be true that Verdi was unable to break with the choral technique of Italian romantics like Bellini and Donizetti, but his vigorous musicianship, which steadily progressed from romanticism to the very beginnings of *verismo*, enabled him to draw ever new and striking effects from his choral movements. His strength here lies especially in his *ruvidezza* and in his tempo, but he also achieves choral effects of the greatest dramatic power by carefully considered dynamic schemes, which include rapid successions of changes between *pianissimo* and *fortissimo*, as in the quartet in the second finale of 'Macbeth', especially where the chorus joins in at "Biechi acarni!" The chorus "Patria oppressa" made an especial appeal because of its patriotic turn.

The three most popular luminaries in Verdi's operatic constellation, 'Rigoletto', 'Il Trovatore' and 'La Traviata', at once call to mind a whole series of extremely well-known choral tunes. In 'Rigoletto' the chorus of courtiers, "Zitti, zitti", with its short and halting *pianissimo* quavers, never fails to make its effect. Even the simple device of underlining short solo passages with choral unison, as in the first act at the entrance of Merullo, "Che avenue? Parlate!", is astonishingly telling. The robust vitality and the

reckless prodigality of melodic invention of which Verdi made the most during the period of these three operas have earned him much adverse criticism ; actually, however, he disarms hostility here by a succession of tunes which are tense to bursting and full of glowing theatricality. We rarely find in his choruses such discrepancies between the meaning of the words and their rather carelessly contrived melodic clothing as we sometimes come across in his solo parts (Leonora's aria "Di tale amor che dirsi" in the first act of 'Il Trovatore', for example). Such a reproach cannot be levelled at the chorus of the courtiers in 'Rigoletto' "Scorrendo uniti remota via", where the light-winged, narrative tone of the unison song is perfectly suited to the situation and never fails to produce a lively response.

Again and again choral unison shows itself as Verdi's strong point, which is easily explicable when we consider that it is an admirable means of showing off his qualities as melodist and rhythmist. For proof we have the choruses in 'Il Trovatore', where with the exception of a few passages everything is sung in unison, from the short choral interjections at the opening and the chorus "Sull' orlo dei tetti" to the gypsies' chorus and the fresh soldiers' chorus, "Squilli, echeggi la tromba guerriera", where the orchestra has a restrained harmonic accompaniment. Such striking combinations of a well-spaced ensemble with a punctuating choral accompaniment as in the finale of the second act are still frequently to be found in the later operas. Even the famous 'Miserere', with the soprano line planing above short, muffled choral comments, has its counterparts in 'Simon Boccanegra' and 'La forza del destino', though not in the same perfection.

The many choruses in 'La Traviata', like the *brindisi* and those of the gypsy girls, the Spanish matadors and the bacchanalian dancers, are strongly contrasted. The combination of choral passages with solo ensembles shows arrangements similar to those in 'Il Trovatore', but the unconstrained melodic flow, which at times nothing but Verdi's dramatic instinct saves from becoming commonplace, is seen to give way to a more careful and musicianly handling in the course of the master's artistic development. Crude effects become rarer ; dramatic and musical values show a more intimate dependence on each other ; artistic fastidiousness and a more cunning hand make for a new inherent order and economy. With this development Verdi's choruses progress with noticeable constancy. Their energy and sweep never flags where they are called upon to provide an impressive introduction or to co-operate with the solo ensemble in building up an imposing finale. As witnesses to the abundance and versatility of Verdi's choral writings may be cited

such divided choruses as those in 'I vespri siciliani' and 'La forza del destino', where the voices are alternately treated antiphonally or in combinations of many parts; vigorous choral basses; the unaccompanied choruses forming a background to solos in 'Simon Boccanegra' ("All' armi, o Liguria" and "Dal sommo delle sfere"); admirably shaped ensemble numbers with chorus, as for instance, "È scherzo od è follia" in 'Un ballo in maschera'; or short polyphonic openings such as "Avventiamoci su lui" at the beginning of the second finale in the same opera. Especially impressive is the chorus of monks in 'La forza del destino' at the words "l'immonda cenere". The tenors here go down as far as B in unison with the basses, and Verdi's dynamic direction is *pppp*! Then, gradually increasing in sound, the chorus reaches *forte*, pouncing on *fortissimo* with an audacious leap of a major ninth (E-F#) at "l'empio mortal".

In 'Don Carlo' Verdi already shows the magnificence he was to display so luxuriantly in 'Aida'. The later work is especially foreshadowed in the chorus "Spuntato ecco il di d'esultanza" with its pithy unisons, its triplets and its noble, sweeping tune, branching off occasionally into polyphony. In 'Aida' the master made the most stringent demands on the fullness of his genius, on his melodic wealth and his splendid technique. Choral incidents of the kind that appeared sporadically in the earlier operas are here amalgamated into dramatic life, partly no doubt thanks to the libretto. We need but think of the forceful unison march movement of the chorus "Su! del Nilo al sacro lido", the psalm-like incantations of the priestesses, airily polyphonic structures like the priests' chorus, "Nume, custode e vindice", with its subtle dynamic shading (*pppp*), or the grandiose climaxes in the ensemble pieces with chorus, as in the sixth scene of the second act. There is hardly another opera of Verdi's except 'Nabucco' where he luxuriates in such large-scale choral movements and magnificent weldings of solo ensembles and chorus as he does in 'Aida'. But in his last two operas, 'Otello' and 'Falstaff', his genius reaches perfection in the use of the choral element. All the interesting combinations, dramatic effects and refinements of the choral writing found in his earlier works are here employed with the greatest subtlety.

Formally considered, Verdi's opera choruses are extraordinarily varied. They take every possible shape, but it is invariably the dramatic situation that determines their construction. Within the framework of an opera as a whole they make an overwhelming effect. Verdi as a master of choral writing thus remained true to himself as the custodian of a glorious manifestation of Italian culture.



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C. B. O.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS <sup>(1)</sup>

*Doctor Arne.* By Hubert Langley. pp. 119. (Cambridge University Press, 1938) 7s. 6d.

A fresh and thorough re-estimate of Arne's music is no doubt overdue, and though Mr. Langley's little book does not aspire to rank either as that or even as "a scholarly work", it was certainly worth producing. Grove's Dictionary supplies most of the important facts about a life which was lived in an interesting period among interesting people, and Dr. W. H. Cummings's 'Dr. Arne and Rule, Britannia!' gives a more detailed picture of certain parts of it. But the greater part of Arne's contribution to music remains in neglect. A few settings of Shakespearian songs, which have taken an almost traditional status, and an occasional revival of 'Thomas and Sally' make an insecure foundation for proper judgment. It was well worth while to go through Arne's works in the order in which they were written and to assess, however superficially, their value in relation to each other. Nor is that adverb quite justified. "Not one single work of primary importance is in print or available in its entirety . . .". Mr. Langley has searched the museum shelves diligently, and though one must await a performance before accepting his judgment in all cases, the two appendices—of works still extant in the British Museum and elsewhere, and of such modern editions as are obtainable—will be valuable for reference.

It is with the life as well as the music of Arne that Mr. Langley deals, and the appreciable difficulties of describing both in brief space are quite successfully met. The music is the main concern, however, since not even Arne's most enthusiastic apologists can show him to have been a very interesting man. Whether subsequent neglect of Arne is due, as Mr. Langley contends, chiefly to the overshadowing fame of Handel may be doubted, but it is unquestionable that in his day Arne was a very great figure in English music. The reason why might have been made clearer. But though Mr. Langley does not "place" Arne as exactly as he might have, he writes well of his music. His enthusiasm does not blind his critical sense. He freely admits the defects, and it is interesting, for example, to find that he considers that 'The Judgment of Paris' has as a whole the best claim to praise among the earlier masques—that its arias equal those of 'Comus' and that the writing is "rather more solid". It is good, too, to find 'Rule, Britannia!', so often thought of merely as a "jolly Jack Tar sort of song", properly praised for its dignity and grandeur. What is said of the songs may be fully endorsed and quickens the wish that not only the Shakespearian settings but also the

<sup>(1)</sup> An accumulation of articles has necessitated the curtailment of the reviews in this issue. Some sections have been temporarily dropped and in the case of books it has been thought advisable to print short editorial paragraphs on many of them rather than to ignore them altogether or to hold over too many of the longer reviews for the next issue.—Ed.

Vauxhall Gardens songs might be more often performed. In dealing with the operas he is no less just in deploring the common preference of 'Thomas and Sally' to the far better 'Love in a Village'. But it is hardly fair to make 'Artaxerxes' the occasion for an oblique cut at Bellini, even though it is admitted that the success of this Italianate work was quite out of proportion to its merits. But generally that kind of vain comparative criticism is avoided. The most interesting chapters, come at the end. The unjustly neglected masque, 'The Fairy Prince', is dealt with at length. 'Judith' is admitted to be a jumble of all Arne's styles, but persuasive claims are put forward for his strong dramatic sense and the vigorous powers of expression shown by the music. The review, with two quotations, raises hopes for an early revival of this oratorio. A final chapter touches on the question of how much church music Arne, a Roman Catholic, may have written. Two examples exist in the British Museum and one of these, a 'Liberate me' is examined and the suggestion made that it shows Arne in a wholly unfamiliar light.

P. H.-W.

*Brahms and his Four Symphonies.* By Julius Harrison. pp. 312. (Chapman & Hall, London, 1939) 21s.

It is obvious that the orderly making of books is not Mr. Harrison's profession: his pages are far from being as closely knit as those of a Brahms score. Nor does his florid literary style well match his theme. But he is palpably intimate with every minute detail in the symphonies, and his abundant enthusiasm is attractive. He can discriminate, too, which is as it should be; but some of his criticisms are not expressed very clearly, and I fear that I rub my eyes hard on reading that the return to the chief subject in the *Andante* of No. 4 (the six bars before letter D) is "a somewhat unconvincing bridge passage"—have not most of us always thought this one of the high lights of the movement, even if not subscribing to Sir Donald Tovey's judgment that it is "one of the most beautiful modulations Brahms or any man ever wrote"? Still, the good Brahmsian will find very little in Mr. Harrison's pages with which to quarrel. And 240 music-type illustrations are a generous allowance; though, even then, we cannot follow without the scores at our elbow. (By-the-bye, the first six bars of the *passacaglia* theme in No. 4 are, very misleadingly, given an octave too low.)

Sometimes, perhaps, the reader has to walk warily. Mr. Harrison has an eye for thematic resemblances so keen that he is liable, some would say, to see what is really not there; and he indulges in deep speculations about keys in general, and the mysterious value of the note C in particular, that are difficult for the uninitiated to understand. Moreover, admirably detailed as are the technical discussions, some interesting points are every now and then left unmentioned. But the book is certainly a serious and stimulating guide to great music, and as such it will no doubt fulfil its purpose.

There is, however, one considerable omission: due, it may well be, to over-modesty. The symphonies present some very interesting problems of interpretation, about which Mr. Harrison, who is, of course, a conductor of long and wide experience, denies himself the pleasure of saying anything whatever. And to those, like myself, who happen never

to have heard him conduct any of these particular works, the problems remain just as they were. Take the C minor. Should we, at the *codetta* to the second subject in the first movement, let clarinet and horn and the other wind dally with each other in a big *ritardando*? Or in the introduction to the finale should we keep the *adagio* steady (except at the *stringendi*), and take the *più andante* perceptibly faster? Should we let the horse bolt at any *animato*, or, when the trombone theme in the coda is reached, pull him suddenly back on his haunches, or let him gallop straight ahead? (To call this theme, as Mr. Harrison does, "the hymn of faith" does not, I confess, convey any meaning to me.) Should we slow down with the entry of the F sharp minor violoncello melody in the first movement of No. 2? What about the *un poco sostenuto* in the finale of No. 3—should we relax more or less noticeably at this particular bar, or imperceptibly spread out the slackening? Should we change tempos up and down the variations of No. 4, or deliberately reduce speed in the 3-2 section (except in so far that a strict  $\text{♩} = \text{♩}$  will sound slower, owing to the new incidence of the crotchet beats), or hurry the coda to the first movement? Should we, in a word, feel it our duty to make points, or should we (as Brahms said about playing Beethoven) feel that it takes us all our time to play what is written—remembering incidentally Brahms's well-known hatred of anything like over-squareness? We are continually hearing performances under conductors who take diverse views about such matters: it would have been most interesting to have them argued out by Mr. Harrison. And a book of this size would have afforded adequate space.

E. W.

*Elgar*. By W. H. Reed. ('Master Musicians' series.) pp. 215. (Dent, London, 1939.) 4s. 6d.

Charming and enlightening though it was, Mr. Reed's 'Elgar as I knew him', published soon after the great composer's death, was not and did not profess to be a biography. There was room for a fuller, more connected study from the same hand, and it is highly satisfactory that such a study should have been added to the new 'Master Musicians' series.

The facts of Elgar's life are told succinctly, with a certain amount of new matter concerning the early days at Worcester (the story of the home-made double bass knocked together out of packing-cases will probably be fresh to most readers). We are reminded that Elgar's famous appointment at the County Lunatic Asylum was as bandmaster to the staff, not to the patients, though their orchestra, for which he composed marches, quadrilles, &c., was a sufficiently eccentric combination—violins, double-bass, cornets, flute, oboe, euphonium, bombardon and piano. A gift for orchestration can seldom have been developed in surroundings so free from academic prejudice!

On Elgar's methods of composition, and to a less extent on the psychological processes which underlay them, Mr. Reed throws valuable light. All the more important works were built up by what may be called a cumulative process—cumulative in the literal sense, since it involved the accumulation of enormous piles of manuscript paper, scribbled over, in Elgar's peculiar brand of musical shorthand, with scraps of themes and orchestrated passages waiting to be fitted into the



framework already existing in the composer's mind. We have all read how a master of large-scale composition in another sphere, Titian, loved to get two or three vast works under way simultaneously, put them on one side for a time, then fetch them forth and finish them all in a frenzy of creative activity. With Elgar this psychological trait was very marked, and it was partly responsible for the fact that at the time of his death he had his third Symphony, his Ben Jonson opera 'The Spanish Lady' and Part III of 'The Apostles' all simmering in his mind and partly committed to paper; the unfortunate thing is that unlike Titian's sketches, the slightest of which are vivid with meaning, Elgar's fragments were, owing to the composer's peculiar methods of working, practically unintelligible until the final synthesis had been achieved.

Mr. Reed, who led so many orchestras under the composer's baton, sees his genius rising "to its greatest height in his orchestral works"—a judgment in which most of us would concur if it did not involve some depreciation of 'Gerontius'. In the circumstances it is curious to find him writing, if not with coldness, with some reserve of 'Falstaff', as suffering a little by comparison with the Symphonies or the 'Variations on an Original Theme'; Elgar himself felt 'Falstaff' to be his supreme orchestral achievement, and critical and general opinion has slowly but irresistibly moved round to the same view.

While not wishing to appear ungrateful for so much information and comment packed into narrow limits, I regret one omission. In middle life—the fact is often forgotten—Elgar was very much a conductor-of-all-work, and not merely the revered and authoritative interpreter of his own music; we should have welcomed from Mr. Reed, who had unique opportunities for observation, some picture of Elgar in that less familiar capacity. What, for instance, was his approach to Beethoven's symphonies in rehearsal, and what impression did he make in actual performance?

D. M. F.

*The Arrant Artist.* By H. V. Jervis-Read. pp. 160. (Heath Granton, London, 1939) 5s.

This is the testament of a man who has been at some pains to get his ideas about music as an art and an influence in order. It is a salutary exercise and when a musician is willing, as this one is, to let us look on while he wrestles with the problems of his soul's and heart's relationship to art, one ought to attend carefully. It is precisely this kind of data that the psychologist must have for determining the specific power of music. The sociologist needs it also if his mass-observation is to be intelligent in that direction. The author holds one's attention because of his sincerity, firstly. That is a quality he postulates as essential for the artist, and he thereupon pleases one by refraining from suggesting that it is discoverable in music. Of all the many things music of itself cannot express, sincerity is one. But the printed word can express it and does so here. It is significant of the stimulating character of this book that it arouses strong feelings of agreement and the opposite. The former may be left unsung, some of the latter mentioned, though with the caveat that the reader must in fairness refer these points to their context in the book itself which, though loosely constructed, has its own reasonable continuity. The present reviewer questions the validity of the statement

that the heart of a nation is laid bare in its music. The nation, as contemporary events have shown, is a purely artificial political convenience. Of what nation, for instance, is the heart laid bare to-day by Smetana's 'Ma Vlast'? Also, is it true that a composer's nationality is perfectly expressed in his work? His racial affinities, perhaps, but hardly a fortuitous political grouping such as a nation is. "The artist is the possessor of a definite point of view. He is enthusiastic; he proselytizes; he converts." Good, as long as it is made clear that much music of the finest quality and the greatest spiritual value has been created without any urge to conversion. And if the author feels this about the artist it is hardly generous of him to gird at D. H. Lawrence, some thirty pages later, for being an example of "advertisement and propaganda" in art. The interest of his exclamation "How stable the message of art!" would have been increased had he either linked that idea with, or dissociated it from, the one art, music, whose most precious quality is the eternal instability of its message. Finally one would have welcomed enlightenment on the assertion that the words of Holst's 'Hymn of Jesus' have no "particular merit". Such criticisms are inevitable in dealing with a book at once so wide in scope and restricted in size. It may be said, also, that one is left with a feeling of gratitude to anyone who has the courage to set up a row of Aunt Sallies for us to shy at. The exercise makes one realize, if nothing else, what a bad shot one is oneself.

S. G.

*Whither Music? Two Lectures.* By Richard Freyman. pp. 27. (Besta Press, London, 1938)

To compress so wide-ranging a discussion as this within the space of two short lectures and an introduction of three small pages is beyond the powers of any man. Vague and indeterminate as the contents of this pamphlet of necessity are, it still repays reading because it provokes thought. The thesis is that music has an as yet ill-defined influence on human nature. "Music understood as part of the theory of knowledge can be regarded as one of the ways of leading to truth." The operative word is "understood". The author speaks of a "real understanding of the power of music" as contributing to this desired end. That admittedly is necessary, but it is not only, nor primarily, an understanding of music's power so much as the understanding of music itself which will help here. Music, the author rightly observes, easily becomes a narcotic when used for mere excitation or as a background to emotional pursuits. He might have added that it as easily slips into the category of a secondary sexual characteristic with dress and the goose-step. That odd form of debasement comes about through lack of knowledge not of music's power but of its essential being. That music is prostituted will not be denied by any but those who use it without listening to it. The cure for that is a little more intelligence on the part of our educational experts. Teach the child its notes at the same time as it learns its letters and it will the quicker get bored with the kind of music with which the recruiting sergeant and the predatory parent with marriageable offspring smother its powers of discrimination. The author draws attention to the fact, which seems incontrovertible, that the increased nervous strain of these days will demand an increased use of narcotics to still the pain. Music is always at hand for that sort of aid.

We may, indeed, expect an even stronger outcry than before against music that is at all "difficult to understand", music that is called "modern", and a corresponding insistence on the value of music that is quickly assimilated. It is in view of this that the author's plea for closer study of music's power over the unconscious becomes significant. Hand in hand therewith might go the study of the power of the unconscious over music.

S. G.

*The Music of Language.* By J. Campbell McInnes. pp. 92. (Harris, London, 1939) 4s.

From the contents of this small treatise it is reasonable to infer that they were delivered as or form the basis for the delivery of a series of radio talks in Canada, which would naturally be listened to over the neighbouring section of the United States. This fact is nowhere stated in the book itself or in any preface, and must remain solely as an implication from the contents and from the form of the short chapters with such headings as 'The Growth and Meaning of English Speech', 'Historical Influences', 'Local Usage', which are not developed with any profundity, but contain ideas stated as axioms. One of Mr. McInnes's main points is that "Speech depends upon a sensitiveness to sound" and that we must learn to listen with care to speakers whose vocabulary implies the possession of ideas and whose delivery "suggests a controlled and co-ordinated mind". Those of us who remember the constant pleasure with which we listened to "Campbell McInnes" in almost any form of singing in the years before the war will recognize in these chapters the fruit of experience, combined with what may be a rashly complete acceptance of the origin of language in tongue-gestures, as put forward by Sir Richard Paget. The author's point constantly re-emphasized is that education must proceed through the spoken word, "printed matter vitalized by the living voice". At the same time and place as I read this book I was also reading 'The Times' of May 23rd on the training of recruits, where this wholly contradictory opinion is set out: "The brain retains what it sees with the eye more readily and firmly than what it hears with the ear". Mr. McInnes is radio-conscious, the 'Times' writer was diagram- or illustration-conscious. But whatever means of education we prefer, it would be hard to eliminate the human voice as an aid.

Some familiar passages of prose and poetry are quoted. In one place the author defines rhythm as "the measure of inflection of voice given to words within the lines, to modify or express grammatical relation", and in support of this quotes Shelley:

*Music when soft voices die,*

with the important words in bolder type. But at the last couplet:

*And so thy thoughts when thou art gone  
Love itself shall slumber on.*

he does not give his readers (but perhaps he did exemplify to his listeners) the necessary instructions as to how to accent the very last word in order to fix it grammatically as the preposition which has ended the sentence, somewhat remote from the noun it governs, not in its natural meaning in that position of "slumber continually". This lyric is a favourite with

composers, and I think I am justified in saying that none of them has dared to end his setting with the dactylic rhythm which alone can give sense to Shelley's somewhat awkward construction. I regret that many of them appear not to have detected Shelley in so vulgar a breach of grammatical purity.

In the second part of the book the actual art and practice of speaking is considered on the basis, which is not acknowledged, of the Resonator Scale which Dr. W. A. Aikin discovered and made known. The simple statements of fact deduced from it, such as "distortion of the natural shapes of the mouth and throat inevitably produces distortion of tone", are such as command universal agreement and among the half-taught speakers such as the majority of the clergy, suffer almost universal disregard. It is a painful experience to hear a cathedral choir that has sung with clarity of diction, with rational emphasis and with controlled dynamics followed by the sometimes fantastic perversions of sound, sense and emphasis that issue from the minor and major dignitaries as they mince or bellow their inarticulate way through the studied jewels of Cr  nmer's Liturgy or the unconscious masterpieces of the Authorized Version. I was told by a listener that he mistook a broadcast from a cathedral for a variety entertainment mimicking the conventional clergyman and was deeply shocked at the bad taste of the B.B.C. till he realized his error. Is it permitted to ask if the clergy are ever "auditioned" for their part in a broadcast service as choir and organist are? Are they ever corrected, guided, or censured as their musicians are, or is it taken for granted that their performances are reverent, seemly and intelligible merely by virtue of their office?

Mr. McInnes's book is not intended as research, but as a simple statement of common truths which many of us have agreed don't really matter. The sooner we change our mind the better; I wish I could hope that 'Music & Letters' could circulate to both Convocations and to those known as The Inferior Clergy.

S. W.

*On Russian Music: Critical and Historical Studies.* By Gerald Abraham. pp. 279. (Wm. Reeves, London, 1939) 8s. 6d.

To his numerous and invaluable studies in Russian music Mr. Abraham now adds the result of still further researches in a field as fascinating as it seems to be inexhaustible. Readers of earlier books by Mr. Abraham might have thought themselves well informed on such an important figure as Glinka; it appears that we must radically revise our approach, for the 'Life for the Tsar' (known now as 'Ivan Susanin'), usually considered the first Russian opera, was in fact nothing of the sort. It was "neither the first opera composed on a Russian subject or to a Russian text, the first opera by a Russian composer, nor the opera that really laid the foundation-stone of modern Russian music". Contrary to common opinion, 'Ruslan and Lyudmila' is a much finer achievement both in itself and for the fact that it reveals the origin of the characteristic Russian style, and it is Mr. Abraham's merit that he is able to convince us of this even though we may not have the score before us to follow his lucid argumentation.

Largely, this is a book of discoveries. An unknown programme is disclosed for Tchaikovsky's sixth Symphony in which, according to the



composer, "the ultimate essence of the plan of the Symphony is Life". And the original note continues in true Tchaikovskian style: "First part—all impulsive passion, confidence, thirst for activity. Must be short. (Finale, death—result of collapse.) Second part love; third disappointments; fourth ends dying away." Most interesting is a letter from Stasov to Balakirev in which information is given on old English tunes recommended for use in the latter's 'King Lear' music. From this it appears that there was question of a Russian composer's incorporating an English folk-tune in instrumental music long before the idea occurred to any English composer! Other chapters on Balakirev deal with his Symphonies and his piano Sonata, correcting and adding to our still scanty information on this remarkable figure.

In an admirable chapter on the psychological peculiarities of Russian artists a new explanation is suggested for the baffling change that has taken place in Stravinsky's style: like his master Rimsky-Korsakov and so many other Russians, Stravinsky might have approached that period of tragic disillusionment when almost inevitably the Russian deteriorates, only to recapture his original verve and confidence in the years when composers of other nationalities normally reach their decline. Perhaps Mr. Abraham has let his imagination run away with him in his comparison of Gogol and Balakirev; but the book throws new light on a hundred forgotten nooks and crannies. The pity is that the various studies, many of them reprinted from magazines, are not co-ordinated to form a consecutive historical account; it is a book to dip into, to be read with an index rather than to hold one's attention from cover to cover—a regrettable fact, since it should not have been difficult to introduce some sequence of ideas or events which would have made the book as readable to the amateur as it is to the specialist. When, by the way, are we to have a full-fledged history of Russian music? No one would be better qualified to undertake it than Mr. Abraham. E. L.

*The Greek Aulos: a Study of its Mechanism and of its Relation to the Modal System of Ancient Greek Music, followed by a Survey of the Greek Harmoniai in Survival or Rebirth in Folk-Music.* By Kathleen Schlesinger. pp. 627. (Methuen, London, 1939) 42s.

Miss Schlesinger entered upon her task with the laudable object of seeking a definite and rational principle for the musical system of the ancient Greeks, and she considers that it can be found in their *harmoniai*, i.e. the standard scales of proportional inter-related intervals within the octave. The scale, says Aristotle, was based on "number and equal measure": with this clue our authoress constructs the true ratios of its intervals, which are not those of mere tone and semitone. Taking *mese*, the recognized keynote, she finds its position as a modal determinant by its "number" in the harmonic series; then, by applying to it the harmonic series by "equal measure" or division downward, the desired result is obtained, the lowest note or tonic remaining constant. This method has been worked out first of all on the monochord with equally spaced bridges, and then transferred to the reed-pipe with equidistant finger-holes. Here is the secret, she concludes, which was carefully preserved by the Harmonists, followers of their master, Pythagoras, in

the fourth century B.C., who were sharply castigated by their contemporary Aristoxenus.

But the reed-pipe itself underwent important changes. Instead of being sounded with a short reed, a long-stemmed straw was used, traditionally for the first time by Pronomus in the fifth century; and by lengthening or by shortening the sliding reed-stem the various *harmoniai* could be produced on one instrument from the same finger-holes, the reed in this case controlling the pipe, which merely acted as a resonator. A century later, in the days of Antigenidas, the double-beating reed appears to have been superseded by a long and narrow single-beating reed: this, it is said, enabled the player to extend the compass of his pipe into the dominant and octave by bringing his lips further up on the reed. My own experiments with such a reed confirm its possibility; but the action is difficult, especially on the double pipes, and the result precarious, though doubtless the skilled *auletes* mastered his instrument.

Miss Schlesinger, with the help of her classically trained friends, has thoroughly sifted all available allusions in Greek literature in support of her views; but unfortunately she has weakened her case by reading into much earlier times these later improvements and practices. For instance, because the Ur pipes (c. 2700 B.C.) have four "equidistant" finger-holes, she insists that the Sumerians of those days must have known the principles of the Greek *harmoniai*! This is pure guesswork and unworthy of her talented gift for research. There are several better reasons for the four holes. Until a playable specimen of the ancient reed can be discovered, the only reliable basis for presuming a musical scale in those distant ages is that provided by their three-holed vertical flute, which, as she herself truly says, "gives out the same notes and intervals time after time and year after year". This flute I used as my authority in 'Sumerian Music', and not the treacherous reed-pipe, as she wrongly states.

The latter part of the book deals with the "modal" flutes found among peoples of the present day and, if in Asia and the East, the *harmoniai* are still in evidence, no doubt it is largely due to the Arabian influence of medieval times, which was strongly imbued with Greek culture. There is also an interesting survey of the remnants of Greek music and notation.

This review must, however, close on a note of sincere appreciation for a task so perseveringly and punctiliously accomplished. Whether Miss Schlesinger's views be accepted or not, whether the restored *harmoniai* will now inaugurate a new era in our modern music (as she hopes) or not, provision has here been made of valuable material, by the careful and complete measurement of all known specimens of the Greek *aulos* extant as well as of present-day flutes, which will serve for further experiments on an engrossing but difficult subject, and for which future workers will give her thanks.

F. W. G.

*Musical Wind Instruments: a History of the Wind Instruments used in European Orchestras and Wind-Bands from the Later Middle Ages up to the Present Time.* By Adam Carse. pp. 380. pl. 30. (Macmillan, London, 1939) 25s.

This survey of a branch of musical history supplies very opportunely a recognized and decided need. Of the origin of wind instruments and

the use made of them in medieval times there are several accounts; but Mr. Carse has taken as his special subject their development from the earlier part of the sixteenth century to the present time. Using his own valuable collection of such instruments as a basis, he has compiled lists of makers and given such descriptions of their work and improvements as will enable the reader to estimate more nearly their date of manufacture and advance. In the process some prevalent ideas have been rejected or, at any rate, rendered doubtful until further research has been made. This is especially true of the clarinet and its humble predecessor, the *chalumeau*. In the realm, too, of the more recent valve-instruments a good deal of sorting out has clarified their positions in the general scheme, and the loss of character in the present-day trumpet has been clearly explained.

Notwithstanding his affection for the older types Mr. Carse has hardly done justice to the recorder in stating that it is "expressionless", and in a detailed treatise such as this the curious method of completing the scale of the three-holed picco pipe by gradually covering the expanding bell-end with the finger—somewhat after the manner of "hand stopping" on the horn—might have received notice.

The book is well produced, with photographic plates of instruments, diagrams, replicas of old scale-charts, bibliography and full index. The author must be congratulated on his having been able to complete and issue so useful, correct and attractive a work.

F. W. G.

*A Chart of the Arts.* By Herbert Bedford. (Kegan Paul, London, 1938)  
Mounted and folded, 10s. 6d.; rolled, 5s.

This thrice-folded sheet is the kind of thing that, now one has it, one realizes one has long wanted. Its value for the student, like the labour that must have gone to its preparation, is out of all relation to any description of the chart. For in fact there is nothing to describe. The material (a succession of names arranged according to their appropriate dates), is displayed clearly. This is a consideration of the first importance since it is the eye that is the initial medium of dictation. Architecture, sculpture, poetry, painting and music have each a separate division horizontally; vertically through all five run dividing lines for the centuries from 500 B.C. to the beginning of the present century. The chart has taken seventeen years to compile. Mr. Bedford is to be congratulated on this helpful contribution to research.

S. G.

*Antony Philip Heinrich: a Nineteenth-Century Composer in America.* By William Treat Upton. ('Columbia University Studies in Musicology') pp. 337. (Columbia University Press, New York; Milford, London, 1939) 22s. 6d.

This is a serious and substantial treatise on a subject of interest only to Americans and, on second thoughts, perhaps to present-day Germans; for we may at any moment expect to see a translation under the title of 'Anton Philipp Heinrich: ein Sudentendeutscher in Amerika'. Heinrich (1781-1861) was born on the German border of Bohemia and emigrated to the United States before he was thirty, settling eventually in Kentucky. Professor Upton makes out a case for him as an early pioneer in American

music, but is more successful in presenting a quaint picture of musical life in the U.S.A. between 1810 and 1861 that shows a primitiveness he makes no attempt to disguise. The general taste was obviously at the level of Bishop, Arnold and Brahms. It is difficult to see why, on the other hand, the author should be at such pains to believe in Heinrich as a composer of quality and even try to justify the contemporary claim made for him as "the Beethoven of America". The few musical extracts given in the book show him to have been hardly even the Bishop of Kentucky.

*The Band's Music.* By Richard Franko Goldman. pp. 442. (Pitman, London, 1939) 12s. 6d.

This is mainly a book of reference useful to the bandmaster in search of programme material; but it contains an essay on 'The Band and the Public', a short history of the development of bands, and a survey of music for wind instruments written from 1400 to the present day, with a chronological list. Pages 79 to 442 are devoted to details of works written or arranged for band (carefully differentiated), classified under composers from Adolphe Adam to Haydn Wood. The list is very comprehensive, and the fact that important works recently produced by Elgar, Bantock, Ireland and others are omitted is doubtless due to their being scored for brass band. This book deals, from an American point of view, with what we call the military band.

*A Musical Slide-Rule.* By L. S. Lloyd. pp. 25. (Oxford University Press, 1938) 2s.

With the aid of a pair of printed logarithmic scales, tucked into the jacket of this booklet, the author shows that a musical scale consists, not primarily of notes, but of intervals continually varying in arrangement. The book is in effect an appendix to the author's 'Music and Sound', reviewed in 'Music & Letters', Vol. XIX, No. 2, April 1938, p. 213.

*Musiciens peints par eux-mêmes : Lettres de compositeurs écrites en français (1771-1910).* Edited by Marc Pincherle. pp. 251. (Cornuau, Paris, 1939.)

The editor of this series of letters written in French by various composers, French and foreign, realizing that we live in times which expose autograph collections to some risk, here publishes a large part of the valuable documents in his possession. The letters, which range from Mondonville to Vincent d'Indy, are all of interest in various ways, M. Pincherle having resolutely refused to print anything bearing even the most famous names that fails to add to our knowledge of musical personalities or events of the past. The text is in all cases reproduced exactly as it stands, mistakes and all, and it is amusing to find that not only the foreigners often could not spell French, but that well into the nineteenth century Frenchmen themselves were extremely vague about the orthography of their own language. Among the numerous facsimile reproductions given in addition to the letters (signatures, title-pages, pages of MS music, Grétry's promise of marriage, &c.) is a receipt from an eighteenth-century harpsichord master for "La Somme De Soixante é Douze Livre pour huit moy De Le Sont De Clavesin"; and if Wagner,



who invented some queer words, could not spell French, neither could the young Debussy.

The letters have nothing startling to reveal, but they are instructive, entertaining and full of picturesque details about various periods, customs and events in musical history. The repeated tales of distress, written in anguish tempered with dignity after the Revolution by musicians of distinction ruthlessly deprived of their incomes are particularly revealing, and Meyerbeer's queer dealings with the critics are startling. The Liszt letters, surprisingly enough, are rather dull, but those of his circle throw a good many interesting sidelights, as, for instance, on Cosima's pianoforte playing, which we may gather from her letters to her old Paris teacher, Seghers, to have been more remarkable than is generally supposed. And we find that she admired both Schumann and Joachim! But that was, needless to say, before she had fallen under Wagner's spell.

Méhul appears attractively as a wise old owl, and both Gounod and Saint-Saëns write charmingly, while Dukas and d'Indy give themselves splendid testimonies for noble disinterestedness. Chabrier shows some of the secrets of his workshop and an eccentricity which wisdom after the event may interpret as signs of mental instability. Lalo is rather unpleasantly envious of composers more readily successful than himself, but his savage attacks on Brahms are tempered by a passion for justice. When the second Brahms Symphony was hissed at the first Paris performance, he made a point of applauding it clamorously, although it aroused an almost insane aversion in him.

There is a misprint on p. 99 ("soir" for "soit") and a more serious one, because it turns the sentence in question into its exact opposite, on p. 22. Philidor writes from London that at the performance of his "Carmen saeculare" at the Pantheon "Cramer m'a servi en ami" (reproduced as "n'a servi en ami").

E. B.

*Le "Romantisme" de Beethoven : Contribution à l'étude de la formation d'une légende.* By Jean Boyer. pp. 482. (Didier, Paris, 1938.)

This is a monumental piece of research and speculation that does the greatest honour to French scholarship—one cannot exactly say to French musicology, the line of enquiry being literary rather than musical and the author not being a musician, but a professor of German at the Lycée and lecturer at the University of Toulouse. The inverted commas in M. Boyer's title as well as his sub-heading indicate at once that he is out to demolish what is to him an utterly wrongheaded notion: the conception of Beethoven as a romantic, in the contemporary German sense of the word, as he is careful to point out. According to him romantic writers like E. T. A. Hoffman, Bettina von Arnim and her brother, Clemens Brentano, Rochlitz, Rellstab, and others, whose careers happened to coincide with the composer's, artificially created the phantom of a musician after their own hearts because they were unable to see music in any other light but that of their own imagining; the press followed their lead with its usual docility and lack of independent judgment, its only real aptitude being a chameleon-like gift of taking colour from its surroundings; and Wagner completed and perpetuated the delusion by creating a Beethoven in his own image, with the characteristic

object of representing the greatest musical figure he could think of as a forerunner who had tentatively anticipated his own glorious achievements.

Hoffmann we are shown adjusting his general romantic views of music to Beethoven and thus, while showing a good deal of technical understanding, doing him some violence; Bettina is seen to indulge an artist's privilege of embroidering according to her own poetic fancy; the critics are made to give evidence against themselves for regarding Beethoven's music as revolutionary, disorderly and bizarre (their favourite word, apparently), and one of them actually advised him patronizingly to revise the 'Eroica' Symphony and give it a better shape. They all saw Beethoven like this not because they objected to an artist of this kind, but because it made him fit in with the æsthetic fashions of the moment. The artist as hero battling against adversity, that was one of the pet conceptions of the period, and Beethoven's destiny being to go deaf and eventually to win a spiritual victory over this physical tragedy, he could not fail to be taken for their ideal hero by the romantics. Moreover, they had a theory that music, as the art least suited to the expression of definite ideas, unless it was allied to poetry or to a libretto, was the romantic medium *par excellence*, particularly on its instrumental side; and it so happened, M. Boyer says, that

The great musician living at the time these conceptions were being spread was Beethoven. A singular coincidence would have it that this musician should not only be an original artist, but above all a composer of instrumental works. He thus came upon the scene at exactly the right moment for the romantics to look to his work for a confirmation of their theoretic views.

Now our study of several of the most important of these works has failed to reveal in any of them an incontestably romantic element. At the same time neither Beethoven's correspondence nor his "conversation-books" give any indication allowing us to find romantic tendencies in him, nor even any kind of leaning towards romanticism. Our analysis has shown, on the contrary, that the elements of Beethoven's art always have their origin in the eighteenth century.

M. Boyer's analysis may not always be convincing in detail, but it is so as a whole, and though he occasionally betrays limitations in his handling of the musical aspect of his subject, his exhaustive knowledge of its literary side is not only imposing, but does much to clarify in one's mind certain influences on Beethoven which belong to two phases that mark the end of eighteenth-century classicism and not to the following romantic era; the *Sturm und Drang* transition period and the *Aufklärung*.

If, as M. Boyer convincingly shows, the responsibility for the "legend" of Beethoven's romanticism rests chiefly with his literary contemporaries, we may well be glad that the task of exposing it was undertaken by a specialist in German literature rather than by a musician; glad also, it must be added at a time like the present, that it has fallen to a French scholar who wields a cultivated pen and inspires the greatest confidence in his learning, not least by refusing to let his work be disfigured by the least suspicion of any national or political bias of the kind that is making so much of German scholarship suspect nowadays. The very copious quotations in German are scrupulously exact and, quite apart from their bearing on the matter in hand, assemble a mass of valuable material for reference: much contemporary Beethoven criticism is here brought together for reference in the original language.

E. B.

*Hector Berlioz : une vie romantique.* By Adolphe Boschot. New Edition. pp. viii. 426. (Plon, Paris, 1939.)

The author of this book is, of course, the classic biographer of Berlioz. His large work in three volumes, 'L'Histoire d'un romantique', the last part of which appeared in 1913, will always remain the final authority, being based on a collection of documents which has been estimated to average one a day for the forty most active years of Berlioz's career. But this was a work for specialists, and since that career is one worth anybody's attention as that of the most representative figure in French romanticism, and not everybody has either time or money enough to spend on M. Boschot's *magnum opus*, he was induced in 1920 to condense his material into a single biographical volume.

It is this 'Vie romantique' which now reappears in a new edition, with a preface in which M. Boschot explains that it was revised in the light of some new documents discovered since the first publication, but that no essential change was found to be necessary. He also takes the opportunity to protest against the recent literary habit of turning the lives of great artists into *vies romancées*, sometimes with a flagrant disregard of facts, sometimes with a fair accuracy, the indebtedness for which remains unacknowledged. This may well be read as a warning not to mistake M. Boschot's own work for an example of that kind of writing, for if it does appear so, that is merely because he can write as well as any novelist and because the life of Berlioz was stranger than the most exuberantly invented fiction. If this biography is almost luridly picturesque, such treatment admirably suits the subject. We may implicitly rely on M. Boschot for facts, and even where his account happens to differ from that in Berlioz's own memoirs, we can be certain that he is the man to believe.

E. B.

*Dix-huit Chants et poèmes mongols.* Collected by Princess Nirgidma de Torhout. Transcribed, with Commentaries and Translations, by Mme. Humbert-Sauvageot. pp. 31 and 19. (Geuthner, Paris, 1937.)

*Méodies tunisiennes : Hispano-arabes — Arabo-Berberes — Juives — Nègres.* Collected and Transcribed by Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger. pp. 16 and 21. (Geuthner, Paris, 1939.)

These two volumes of folk melodies, the third and fourth respectively of the Bibliothèque Musicale du Musée Guimet series of Oriental music, are admirably designed to show at a glance the extraordinary scientific interest of the studies in comparative folk music which are being vigorously pursued in various parts of the world. The English musician knows something of American folksong, but will find much that is strange to him in both the Asiatic and the African collections here made available. The Mongol songs are pentatonic, but often extend to a compass of a twelfth and end on the dominant (which suggests that they are "circular"). The editor believes some of them to be of Tibetan origin, but few of them to be of any great antiquity. Folksong in this part of the world is still in its fluid evolutionary state.

The Tunisian melodies are ethnically varied and include Negro, Jewish, Arab and Andalusian tunes, of which the last were brought across

the sea from Europe when the Arabs were driven out of Spain. One or two of these are exceedingly primitive and consist of repetitions of brief phrases that extend no more than a third in compass. Another point of interest is the notation: great pains have been taken to indicate micro-tones, methods of performance and rhythmic accompaniments by instruments of percussion. There are informative notes on the songs, and editorial deductions are scientifically cautious.

F. H.

*Un Cardinal humaniste: Saint Robert Bellarmine et la musique liturgique.* By Alfred Bernier. ('*Studia Collegii Maximi Immaculatae Conceptionis*', Vol. iv.) pp. 305. (Montreal; Desclée de Brouwer, Paris, 1939.)

Those who remember Bellarmine only by his controversy with James I will be astonished to find his name in connexion with music. But all who are familiar with the controversies will realize that the Cardinal's profound learning and subtle mind enabled him to deal competently with all questions which came into his experience. Liturgical music came under his care in three ways, in controversy with Protestants, in his administration of the diocese of Capua, and later in Rome when he worked in the Congregation of Rites. He was a musical amateur of considerable proficiency, able to compose, perform and criticize. It would not have occurred to him to try to solve the problems on which the finest contemporary musicians were engaged. Sacred and secular music were drifting apart, and it became necessary to formulate sacred music and to reconstruct its foundations. It is difficult for us who are familiar with the art of the Middle Ages to understand these first attempts at reconstruction in the sixteenth century. There was a complete break in the tradition. The author shows by means of instances in verse how the problems appeared to men steeped in the classics. The Renaissance had produced great artists by conscious effort, and so raised new problems of art and liturgy which it was unable to solve.

This book is well documented throughout and contains an Introduction giving a brief history of the growth of music during the period of the Council of Trent. There is also an appendix dealing with a supposed composition by Bellarmine.

P. R. L.

*Portraits de musiciens français.* By René Dumesnil. ('*Les Maîtres de l'histoire*') pp. 248. (Plon, Paris, 1938.)

This series of obituary articles dating from 1918 (Debussy and Lili Boulanger) to 1937 (Ravel, Roussel, Pierné and Widor) makes an excellent study of twenty-five modern French composers, illustrated by twenty-one beautiful collotype plates of portraits and facsimile pages from manuscript scores. Some of the facts and critical opinions, being reprinted from quotations of years ago, are too familiar not to try the informed reader's patience a little, and the author too often relies on what other people have thought and said to conceal the fact that his essays had originally been turned out at short notice. But he is too civilized a writer and too cultivated a musician to give offence, even where one disagrees with him or feels that his good taste has been temporarily unbalanced by personal affection or patriotism. Although he does not solve the perpetual mystery of how French discrimination



is to be reconciled with an admiration for 'Samson et Dalila', for instance, and is inclined to represent anything that happens to be important to French musicians as indispensable to the musical world at large, he is never aggressively chauvinistic and does not voice enthusiasm without at least showing a discerning personal inclination to account for it.

*Maurice Ravel.* By Vladimir Jankélévitch. ('Maitres de la musique'). pp. 130. (Rieder, Paris, 1939.)

Like the same author's book on Fauré's songs, reviewed here last October, this is an admirable study by a psychologist who can turn musician with much success and with a fine show of special learning. Perhaps his professional analysis of Ravel's genius, which is represented as that of a fundamentally passionate creator for ever disguising his art in a series of masquerades, will strike many readers as over-subtle; but one can hardly fail to admit that it contains more than a grain of truth. The technical examination of the music is exhaustive and shows detailed knowledge of its every aspect. It is not made work by work, but in a series of chapters dealing with each of those aspects in turn: 'Rhythm', 'Harmony', 'Counterpoint' (a very short section!), 'Exoticism', and so on, with liberal quotation, often in music-type, of relevant passages wherever they may occur. The sixteen illustrations, including an incredible one of a bearded Ravel, are often very revealing, especially that of "Ravel composant au piano", and "Ravel orchestrant Moussorgsky" arouses curiosity: what did he look like when he orchestrated his own music?

*Arcadelt als Madrigalist: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der weltlichen Vokalmusik der Renaissance in Italien (Musica reservata).* By Walter Klefisch. pp. 127. (Orthen, Cologne, 1938.)

The term *musica reservata* does not appear in 'Grove', and it has escaped the all-devouring eye of Dr. Scholes. It seems to have been used first by Adrian Petit Coclicus, a pupil of Josquin des Prés, who published in 1552 a collection of four-part psalms under this title. In the same year he also issued a 'Compendium musices', in which the principles of *musica reservata* are first stated. Those principles are confirmed by later writers. They may be briefly described as a revolution against the medieval theory of composition, insisting that music is not a science of mathematical combinations but an art made for expressing the passions of men, and that it best expresses those passions when skilfully allied to a significant text. *Musica reservata* thus includes all that corpus of secular vocal part-music which took its inspiration from the poetry of the Italian Renaissance and from the fresh scholarship of humanism. By its devotion to the ideal of matching words with music it turns aside from the purely constructive methods of the earlier Flemish composers and prepares the way for monody, in which the marriage of word and tone is positively freed from all distractions. And since its practice and scope is clearly understood, it matters little that no one—not even Dr. Klefisch—can explain precisely why it is called *reservata*.

The title of this book suggests dissection of the narrowest kind; but as the previous paragraph implies, Dr. Klefisch has interpreted his subject in the most liberal way. He does, it is true, give us some account

of Arcadelt's life and devotes several pages to details of his work. But this is the least important part of the book. For one thing, the known facts of Arcadelt's life are extremely scanty, for another, the German habit of drawing maps and diagrams all over music is never very edifying. Fortunately Dr. Klefisch is impelled to leave the narrow path of the conventional *Beitrag* and to discuss the madrigal in general, particularly the verse-forms it employed and the texts that were set (here the authors of several of Arcadelt's pieces are identified) and the general relationship between words and music. He does this so clearly and sensibly that his book might well serve as a general introduction to the secular music of the period; and English readers who dread the complexities and philosophical airy-nothings to which the German language is so often subject will be glad that here is a book which can actually be read. Dr. Klefisch seems to have several of the qualifications of a general historian. Now that Arcadelt has secured him his doctorate he might be well advised to try his hand at a larger theme.

J. A. W.

*Neues Beethoven-Jahrbuch.* Edited by Adolf Sandberger. Vol. VIII. (Litolf, Brunswick, 1938.)

The Beethoven Yearbook for 1938, No. 8 in the new series edited by Geheimrat Dr. Adolf Sandberger, is a publication in the best academic manner. It is also genuinely valuable to the cause of Beethoven research. Therefore it seems reprehensible in a reviewer to admit that a survey of its contents roused an irresistibly flippant vision of the Yearbook as an omnibus train hauled by a huge locomotive called Beethoven, with the editor standing by in the position of 'Punch's' famous railway porter gazing at a tortoise while he administers the ticket regulations with the remark: "Cats is dogs, and rabbits is dogs, but this 'ere's an . . . ." —but what he said does not matter. His tortoise can be found in the front section of the Yearbook under the title 'Mozartiana'. This section occupies about a fifth of the volume, and contains (the reviewer thinks) but one reference to Beethoven and that in a footnote. However, the festival oration delivered by Dr. Sandberger at the opening of the Mozart House in Augsburg on June 27th 1937 may be considered to have some bearing on Beethoven since, after a dithyrambic inventory of the famous sons of that city, it arrives at Leopold Mozart, the father of Beethoven's early hero. But what the next article has to do with Beethoven passes comprehension, for it is a long, slow-moving, much-documented discussion by Walter Senn of three movements of a manuscript Mass in the archives at Stams, inscribed as "Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Mozart". Whether it really is by Mozart or by someone else is a question that must always be judged as a probability, either in the positive or negative sense, says Walter Senn.

One passes thankfully to the real Beethoven articles. Joseph Schmidt-Görg of Bonn brings to light new information about Beethoven's ancestors on his mother's side. Ludwig Schiedermair does the same thing for Beethoven's guardianship of his nephew. Energy and erudition have gone to the making of Max Unger's little Beethoven studies. The article by Stephen Ley, discussing the basis for a Beethoven iconography, is the work of an expert. Paul Mies, writing upon the significance of sketches, letters and reminiscences in stylistic research, pushes along a path he has already pursued with success. Georg Schüneman's account

of Beethoven's studies in orchestration is founded on facts and admirably illustrated. It takes us into Beethoven's workshop. Erich Schenk's thesis upon Beethoven's "First" as a B-A-C-H Symphony, however, mixes fancies with facts, and is far-fetched. Two articles by Friedrich Munter upon 'A doubtful place in Beethoven's Seventh Symphony' and 'Weingartner's Beethoven arrangements' complete the collection, which has as coda a long and useful review by the editor of recent books and music.

M. M. S.

*Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Mahler: drei Kapitel Judentum in der Musik als Schlüssel zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts.* By Karl Blessinger. pp. 94. (Hahnefeld, Berlin, 1939.)

What Jewish readers will say to this product of *Kulturpolitik*, which has been obviously dictated by deference to officialdom, one cannot tell, and it is not to the point. What matters is that anyone still capable of free and normal thinking must be revolted by an application of scholarship on the part of a professor at an important musical academy to a piece of work serious criticism would but inadequately describe as disingenuous and to a process of specious reasoning one prefers to dismiss as grotesque frivolity. One cannot object to Meyerbeer's being regarded as a pernicious influence and to severe criticism of Mendelssohn and Mahler, provided the strictures are advanced on artistic grounds; but although Dr. Blessinger makes a pretence at æsthetic judgment, he merely turns himself into the servant of a political movement in a way that is undignified for a man of his distinction, to say the least.

It is also, to outsiders, very amusing, if they can swallow their indignation. The three composers are represented, not merely as bad influences, but as the instruments of a hostile community intent on undermining German art, German thought, feeling and integrity, and finally the German race altogether. So subtle is the infusion of the poison supposed to have been (even Mendelssohn's Bach revival is made to appear pernicious) that wherever Dr. Blessinger finds the alleged defects of Jewish composers in Germanic ones also, he is able to attribute them to the former's hold over the latter, with the unfortunate but very entertaining result that, for all his racial arrogance, he reduces whole hosts of nineteenth-century Germans to cretinous dupes. Even Brahms appears as the stupid tool of a clever and cunning Jewry. In this way, whatever Dr. Blessinger's findings on either side, he is safe even when he finds in Germans what he condemns in Jews—safe at any rate so long as his readers are naïve enough not to push his argument to its logical conclusion. This conclusion is, of course, that anything whatever can be praised or damned, just as it suits him; but he is innocent enough, or presumes his readers innocent enough, not to see that it would have been quite easy for him, by the same process, to find the same defects in Schumann as in Mendelssohn, in Wagner as in Meyerbeer and in Bruckner as in Mahler, if these masters happened to have had Jewish grandmothers.

As it is, he thinks Schumann's recently rediscovered and very feeble violin Concerto a great work merely because it is by a German and accuses Joachim, of all people, of having wickedly opposed its publication because

Mendelssohn's Concerto had at all costs to be rid of a "crushing rival". He is at all events not afraid of making himself ridiculous, or else he trades on the suppression of all criticism of those who voice the right official opinions that is a phenomenon of present-day Germany. Feeling thus perfectly secure he does not think it necessary to remember that Joachim was all the time acting as interpreter of the far more "crushing" Beethoven and Brahms Concertos, that his view of the Schumann work had the support of Brahms and of Clara Schumann herself, that the actual decision rested with the latter, not with Joachim, that quite recently Schumann's daughter protested against publication of the Concerto, and that it was a great-niece of Joachim's who took the major share in restoring the neglected curiosity to the concert repertory. But this kind of selecting of convenient facts and ignoring of those which contradict them is typical of the work of a scholar who here takes a discreditable share in reducing German musicology, potentially the finest in the world, to a farce. Well, even farces have their use: one can at least laugh at them.

E. B.

*Richard Wagner in der englischen Literatur des XIX. Jahrhunderts.* By Max Moser. ('Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten', Vol. 7.) pp. 118. (Francke, Berne, 1938.)

The author knows the literature he discusses, as well as the allied arts of William Morris, D. G. Rossetti, Aubrey Beardsley and others intimately. His criticism, sympathetic and understanding, is also admirably searching and on the whole just; and he makes his book very agreeable to read because, although authoritative where judgment is called for, he knows how to keep in the background where his opinions could not serve to illuminate his subject. As it does not matter greatly what he personally thinks of Wagner, he does not go out of his way to tell the reader, nor is it easy to discover his attitude towards the English of the latter half of the nineteenth century, of whom in his detached way he gives some faithful sketches. True, the usual German cliché, *nüchtern*, escapes him once or twice, but one gathers elsewhere that he intends it in its literal sense of "sober" rather than in the more common and disparaging one of "prosaic" or "Philistine".

If Dr. Moser's intention was to demonstrate Wagner's influence on English literature, art and even life, it must be said that his study comes to very little; and one must take it that this really was his aim, though he expresses the view that this influence was small compared with that exercised by Wagner on France. He doubtless exaggerates the latter, too: it seems fantastic to attribute Ernest Dowson's enthusiasm for Wagner to his "admiration for things French in general". On the whole his researches have resulted in little more than a demonstration of English reactions to Wagner. The poetic and pictorial works based on 'Tannhäuser' and 'Tristan' (among the latter of which Thomas Hardy's 'Queen of Cornwall' might have been mentioned) are found to be not only exceptional but for the most part doubtful as direct evidences of influence. However, the account of such reactions is quite sufficiently interesting, coming as it does from a scholar who knows his subject and possesses uncommon critical gifts. Dr. Moser's occasional comparisons



between English literary figures and Wagner are also worth attention, and they at least never pretend to suggest any sort of direct indebtedness. His application to Wagner of Henry A. Beers's epithet, "melodious verbiage", is perfectly apt and suits the composer quite as well as the poet (Swinburne) for whom it was originally intended.

This book, a good part of which already consists of quotations in English, ought to find a translator and a publisher in this country. The former, if he took his task seriously, would no doubt correct some trifling mistakes, such as the statement that Wagner died four years after 1877 (p. 11), and he might jib at the suggestion that Villon contributed to the English literary decadence of the nineties; the latter would have to give the book an index, the absence of which is a grave defect in the otherwise admirable Swiss publication.

E. B.

*Die Improvisation in der Musik: eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche und psychologische Untersuchung.* By Ernst Ferand. pp. xvi, 464. (Rhein-Verlag, Zürich, 1939.)

It does not often happen that an "outsider"—Ernst Ferand was until 1938 head of the Hellerau-Laxenburg School near Vienna—firmly and safely establishes himself on scientific soil with a single book and without conspicuous preliminaries. That is the case here. The problem of improvisation has often been treated from the psychological, æsthetic or historical points of view, but never as yet synthetically and with such painstaking consideration of all its aspects. The adjectives in the subtitle hardly even cover the contents of the book, which contains more than it promises, and it is moreover a valuable summary of all the material, and that first-hand material, of a reliability in the matter of quotation that is very rare in works assuming such dimensions and penetrating into so many regions of research.

What the author regards as the musical manifestation of the impulse of improvisation could hardly be outlined better than in his own words, somewhat involved though they may be (p. 14):

... the factor of immediacy, unpreparedness, non-reflection. . . . In improvisatory performances it is always a question of a process arising out of musical feeling, out of musical subconsciousness, sometimes as a reaction to an actual outward or inward stimulant which breaks out spontaneously and takes its course according to determined musico-psychological laws by completely or at any rate predominantly excluding the intellect—a "short-circuit" process I would therefore designate as a *musical reflex action*. It is true that this kind of musical creativeness, in contrast to physiological reflex actions, which require release only in certain definite situations, presupposes more or less extended practice, and indeed in the case of the higher form of artistic improvisation extremely severe and long-sustained practice. . . .

This special form of musical creativeness the author pursues through the centuries, beginning with the primitives, the East and antiquity, and setting himself a term at the end of the sixteenth century. The guiding thought of his historical investigation is that improvisation represents an earlier practice in historical evolution, to which composition succeeds as, so to speak, a petrified form. Improvisation is artistic shape *in statu nascendi*. What thus emerges is a history of music seen in the light of improvisation, with results that are often quite new and most surprising. The author is perfectly right, for instance, in proving in the course of some

reflections on musical notation that the neumes were by no means a preliminary stage of mensural notation, but a system of symbols thoroughly adequate to the practice of Gregorian chant and ideal for its own purpose.

No less simple and striking is the author's explanation of the fact that so few monuments of instrumental music have survived from before the end of the fifteenth century: instrumental music was until then, and indeed long after, chiefly a matter of improvisation. His study of vocal improvisation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is particularly comprehensive and convincing. If I miss anything, it is the discussion of a problem which in the sixteenth century led, among other things, to a revolution in ornament, *i.e.* the destructive effect vocal improvisation had on expression. And if anything does not become quite clear in the chapter on instrumental improvisation, it is a recognition of the fact that in this domain it is difficult to see any demarcation between improvisation in the highest sense of the term and actual composition. The teaching of improvisation was here nothing else than the teaching of composition.

It is significant that in the otherwise as good a complete bibliography the treatise on improvisation by Marcel Dupré, published in 1920, should be missing. France is probably the only country where improvisation, at any rate on the organ, is still systematically taught. But Ernst Ferand's work is otherwise so far-reaching and exhaustive that one lays it down gratefully as a rich contribution to one's experience.

A. E.

*Die Musik Birmas.* By Kurt Reinhard. ('Schriftenreihe des Musikwissenschaftlichen Seminars der Universität München: Studien zur musikalischen Kultur- und Stilgeschichte', Vol. V) pp. 106; musical supplement, pp. 41. (Triltsch, Würzburg, 1939.)

*Die Musik im Bismarck-Archipel: Musikethnologische Studien zur Kulturkreislehre und Rassenforschung.* By Herbert Hübner. ('Schriften zur Volksliedkunde', Vol. 1.) pp. 117; musical supplement, pp. 58. (Hahnefeld, Berlin, 1938.)

Burma and the Bismarck Archipelago (New Guinea) are not near together in miles, but both are far enough from Europe to put their musics into that comprehensive class which we label "exotic". A glance at the two musical supplements of these volumes, however, shows that, though neither of these Oceanic cultures runs to extended melodies corresponding to European folksong, they represent different levels of musical development. Burma possesses an elaborate instrumental counterpoint, and its vocal music is capable of a flexible recitative ranging through a wide compass. The tunes from the former German possessions in Melanesia are mostly of a primitive type involving repetition of short melodic figures. Enormous pains have been taken to reduce these wayward chants to correct notation and there are copious notes on their mode, structure and provenance. In both publications the tunes—114 Burmese and 88 Archipelagic—have been relegated to a supplement and in both the relevant ethnological considerations are discussed with scientific thoroughness.

F. H.

*Die Quellen der Hamburger Oper (1678-1738) : eine bibliographisch-statistische Studie zur Geschichte der ersten stehenden deutschen Oper.* By Walter Schulze. ('Mitteilungen aus der Bibliothek der Hansestadt Hamburg', Vol. 4.) pp. 170. (Stalling, Hamburg-Oldenburg, 1938.)

The Hamburg Opera, during the sixty years covered by this treatise, is interesting as a chapter in Handelian biography and important as the origin of German opera as a permanent organization and a school. Handel quickly forsook it, and Keiser, Mattheson, Graupner, Telemann and the rest were not strong enough to maintain such an establishment for much more than half a century without the patronage of a court; but such as it is the school is worth studying more thoroughly than has yet been done. The present work, as both the title and the sub-title indicate, does not pretend to exhaust the subject: it is merely a preliminary collection and discussion of the relevant facts and an exhaustive catalogue of the available sources. As such it is of the greatest value. The first part of 66 pages contains essays on the libretti, the scores and the collections of arias by means of which the Hamburg operas may be studied; the second is a detailed catalogue of these sources; the third consists of a reprint of thirteen documents, dated 1694 to 1718, relating to the theatre on the Gänsemarkt where the Opera was housed. There are excellent facsimile reproductions from the scores of three of the most important works preserved in manuscript at Hamburg.

*Für den deutschen Mozart : das Ringen um gültige deutsche Sprachform der italienischen Opern Mozarts.* By Siegfried Anheisser. ('Die Schaubühne', Vol. 26) pp. 250. (Lechte, Emadetten, 1938.)

A book of interest mainly to Germans and containing a piece of gratuitous *obligato* Jew-baiting that can be acceptable to Nazis alone, and perhaps even to them only officially. But the author, who died last year, had a great deal that is instructive to say about the problems of operatic translation in general, and students of Mozart will find in this book of his a wealth of observations on subtleties of imagination and procedure not to be readily discovered in that master's stage-works by those who have not had occasion to study them as closely as a conscientious translator is bound to do. And a conscientious translator the late Dr. Anheisser certainly was, so much so that he did not hesitate to give any amount of chapter and verse to prove the failure of those who had turned Mozart's Italian operas into German before him. As for verse, his own does not always seem to be the most euphonious by any means, but it is the most faithful to the composer as well as to the librettist, faithful, one might say, both to da Ponte's letter and to Mozart's spirit. For the rest, nothing will turn 'Figaro', 'Don Giovanni' and 'Così fan tutte' into German operas, as the author had the sense to recognize. Outside Germany any attempt to do so strikes one as provincial.

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reflections on musical notation that the neumes were by no means a preliminary stage of mensural notation, but a system of symbols thoroughly adequate to the practice of Gregorian chant and ideal for its own purpose.

No less simple and striking is the author's explanation of the fact that so few monuments of instrumental music have survived from before the end of the fifteenth century: instrumental music was until then, and indeed long after, chiefly a matter of improvisation. His study of vocal improvisation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is particularly comprehensive and convincing. If I miss anything, it is the discussion of a problem which in the sixteenth century led, among other things, to a revolution in ornament, *i.e.* the destructive effect vocal improvisation had on expression. And if anything does not become quite clear in the chapter on instrumental improvisation, it is a recognition of the fact that in this domain it is difficult to see any demarcation between improvisation in the highest sense of the term and actual composition. The teaching of improvisation was here nothing else than the teaching of composition.

It is significant that in the otherwise as good a complete bibliography the treatise on improvisation by Marcel Dupré, published in 1920, should be missing. France is probably the only country where improvisation, at any rate on the organ, is still systematically taught. But Ernst Ferand's work is otherwise so far-reaching and exhaustive that one lays it down gratefully as a rich contribution to one's experience.

A. E.

*Die Musik Birmas.* By Kurt Reinhard. ('Schriftenreihe des Musikwissenschaftlichen Seminars der Universität München: Studien zur musikalischen Kultur- und Stilgeschichte', Vol. V) pp. 106; musical supplement, pp. 41. (Triltsch, Würzburg, 1939.)

*Die Musik im Bismarck-Archipel: Musikethnologische Studien zur Kulturkreislehre und Rassenforschung.* By Herbert Hübner. ('Schriften zur Volksliedkunde', Vol. 1.) pp. 117; musical supplement, pp. 58. (Hahnfeld, Berlin, 1938.)

Burma and the Bismarck Archipelago (New Guinea) are not near together in miles, but both are far enough from Europe to put their musics into that comprehensive class which we label "exotic". A glance at the two musical supplements of these volumes, however, shows that, though neither of these Oceanic cultures runs to extended melodies corresponding to European folksong, they represent different levels of musical development. Burma possesses an elaborate instrumental counterpoint, and its vocal music is capable of a flexible recitative ranging through a wide compass. The tunes from the former German possessions in Melanesia are mostly of a primitive type involving repetition of short melodic figures. Enormous pains have been taken to reduce these wayward chants to correct notation and there are copious notes on their mode, structure and provenance. In both publications the tunes—114 Burmese and 88 Archipelagic—have been relegated to a supplement and in both the relevant ethnological considerations are discussed with scientific thoroughness.

F. H.



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A purely bibliographical work, but an extremely valuable one. It contains 3,122 references to Schubert in books and articles published

from the year of his death to that of its centenary in various countries and languages. There are four excellent indices by means of which references to a great variety of subjects may be found in an instant. A reader who, for example, wishes to look up something on Schubert's treatment of the *basso ostinato* in 'Der Doppelgänger' will be directed straight to the source, and this is merely a typical case mentioned at random out of thousands. An illuminating comment on the growth of a great composer's reputation in the course of a century arises from the number of references for the years 1828 and 1928. For the former Professor Kahl shows four, for the latter nearly twelve hundred.

*Klar um Schubert: Beseitigung von Irrmeinungen, Fehlangaben usw.* By Rudolf Feigl. 2nd Edition. pp. 94. (The Author, Grillparzerstrasse 7, Linz, 1938.)

An earnest and useful little book no future biographer of Schubert should ignore. In seven chapters devoted to various aspects of Schubertian research it clears up some tenacious errors and manages to harden one or two new conjectures into acceptable facts. It may perhaps be thought that the first chapter, disposing finally of the mythical Gastein Symphony, is superfluous; but it is interesting to find that the author suggests a substitute for it in the D major piano Sonata, Op. 53, the composition of which during a very short visit to Gastein is alone enough to prove that Schubert could not have written a symphony there.

The author's major concerns are to clear Anselm Hüttenbrenner of the reproach that he illegally withheld the unfinished Symphony, which is proved to have been his property and not that of the Styrian Musical Society of Graz, as biographers have stated over and over again (poor Graz! This is like telling Birmingham that it has no claim to 'Elijah'); and to defend the early biography by Kreissle von Hellborn from the attacks of Wurzbach and Spaun, here shown to have been unjustified. There are also interesting notes on the chronology of the string quartets, on some early minuets supposed to have been lost, on the date of the A major Sonata, Op. 120, on the identification of a C sharp major Sonata mentioned by Hüttenbrenner, and on a hitherto undiscoverable place near Gmunden at which Schubert stayed in 1825. The book, though concerned with facts and arguments, is far from dull. The scornful defence of Kreissle is distinctly amusing.

*Die Gesänge des jungen Schubert vor dem Durchbruch des romantischen Liedprinzips.*

By Edith Schnapper. ('Berner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikforschung', Vol. 10.) pp. 168. (Haupt, Bern & Leipzig, 1937.)

This dissertation deals with the thirty extant songs composed by Schubert between March 1811 and October 1814 from 'Hagars Klage' to 'Das Mädchen aus der Fremde'. They are elaborately analysed in four long chapters dealing respectively with the words, the vocal treatment, the accompaniment and the preludes, postludes and interludes, with classified subdivisions covering a variety of particular aspects. Dr. Schnapper's theory is, to begin with, that none of these songs (? not even 'Der Geistertanz' of October 14th 1814) conforms in the least to the type "on which our present-day conception of song is based: the

romantic song". According to her preface Schubert suddenly created that type on October 19th 1814 with 'Gretchen am Spinnrade'. One agrees, of course, that Schubert's first Goethe setting is the major miracle in the history of song; but the temptation to connect the birth of the modern German song with Schubert's first association with Goethe must be resisted. For even if such landmarks were to be accepted for the sake of their appeal to a critic's sentiments and sense of dramatic fitness, it would be quite as easy to indicate Mozart's only Goethe setting, 'Das Veilchen', as the first specimen of the true German *Lied*. The plain fact is surely that 'Gretchen am Spinnrade' amazingly outshines all earlier Schubert songs—and, as Dr. Schnapper rightly says, the 147 subsequent ones, up to 'Erlkönig'—by its quality rather than by its novelty; and she herself immediately qualifies her initial observation by pointing out that even the earliest songs "all the same carry the first signs of a newly-developing song-form, which is to be recognized and explained only from the point of view of the romantic song". Her subsequent minute and scholarly examinations, indeed, are as much concerned with the discovery of the germs of future achievements as with that of similarities between the earliest Schubert songs and those by his predecessors and contemporaries. But whether one agrees with her theory or not, her findings are of the greatest possible interest.

*Richard Wagner in München: ein Bericht in Briefen.* By Sebastian Röckl. ('Von deutscher Musik', Vol. 47). pp. 99. (Bosse, Ratisbon, 1938.)

A series of documents, dated May 1864 to December 1865, containing letters and other writings of Ludwig II, Cosima and Hans von Bülow, Cornelius, Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Wagner himself and other personages involved in the Munich drama of which the central act is the production of 'Tristan und Isolde'. Sebastian Röckl, who died in 1936, here brought together some important new material he had been unable to incorporate in his book 'Ludwig II und Richard Wagner', published in a revised edition in 1913, and although much of it has since appeared elsewhere in various journals, its posthumous publication under one cover makes a useful little book of reference as well as a fascinating first-hand account of the most dramatically eventful period in Wagner's life.

*Friedrich Nietzsches Randglossen zu Bizets 'Carmen'.* By Hugo Daffner. ('Von deutscher Musik', Vol. 21). pp. 80. (Bosse, Ratisbon, 1938.)

To mention Nietzsche in connection with Bizet has become a critical cliché of the worst description; but it is useful to have his observations on 'Carmen' brought together for reference in this little pamphlet, more especially as most of them come from a vocal score annotated by him, the contents of which are not generally known. The author's way of suggesting that his own views of various details in 'Carmen' are merely confirmed by Nietzsche is a little irritating. Otherwise he has done a useful piece of work pleasantly, and he gives critics a chance to avoid the thoughtless repetition of such mis-statements as that Nietzsche turned against Wagner because he had discovered Bizet. He had in fact done so before he had so much as heard of the French composer's existence.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED

- How to Play Bach's 48 Preludes and Fugues.* By Charles W. Wilkinson. pp. 135. (Wm. Reeves, London, 1939.) 5s. 6d.
- Into the Living Waters: One Man's Way to the Catholic Faith.* By G. A. S. Norman. pp. 182. (Longmans, London, 1939) 5s.
- Modern Organ Building: Practical Explanation and Description of Organ Construction.* By Walter & Thomas Lewis. 3rd Edition. pp. 247. (Wm. Reeves, London, 1939) 15s. 6d. and 17s. 6d.
- Musical Vienna.* By David and Frederick Ewen. pp. 321. (McGraw-Hill, London, 1939) 12s. 6d.
- Piano Fallacies of To-day.* By Tobias Matthay. pp. 45. (Oxford University Press, 1939) 3s. 6d.
- The British Federation of Music Festivals: Year Book for 1939.* pp. 191. (106 Gloucester Place, London, W. 1, 1939) 1s. 3d.
- The Collected Verse of Thomas Thorneley.* pp. 231. (Heffer, Cambridge, 1939) 6s.
- The Waltz Kings of Old Vienna.* By Ada B. Teetgen. Preface by Becket Williams. pp. 256. (Jenkins, London, 1939) 12s. 6d.
- Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft.* Vol. vii: *Der St. Galler Organist Fridolin Sicher und seine Orgeltabulatur.* By Walter Robert Nef. pp. 215. (Majer, Basle 1938)



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